

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting

Hans Memlinc and
Gerard David

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Hans Memlinc and Gerard David



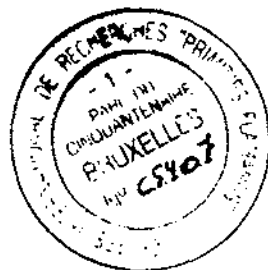
Max J. Friedländer

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VOLUME VI

PART II

Max J. Friedländer



Hans Memlinc and Gerard David

COMMENTS AND NOTES BY

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The Life of Gerard David and His Documented Works

As the 15th century rounded into the 16th, panel painting in Bruges was dominated by Gerard David, and indirectly book illumination as well. Thanks to Weale's documentary researches and the collective work in stylistic criticism done by others, we are able to envisage the character of this master with agreeable clarity, the more so since Bodenhausen, in 1905, thoughtfully and critically summarized all the findings in compact form¹.

1. *Gerard David und Seine Schule*, Bruckmann, Munich.

In his lifetime, the painter enjoyed high renown within the walls of Bruges, and he exerted a profound influence on the generation that followed him; but his fame did not spread far and soon paled. Guicciardini apparently did not include David's name in his well-known list of painters, for his *Gherardo eccellentissimo nell'alluminare* can scarcely have been our master. Even though David 'also' did miniatures, he was, in the main, a panel painter, and it would be curious if Guicciardini had known him only as an illuminator. Van Mander knows no more about him than what Pieter Pourbus told him as Bruges local tradition, namely that Gherardt of Bruges was an eminent painter.

Early in 1484, *Gheeraert Jans f. [filius] Davidt* was admitted to the Bruges guild, as an 'alien', neither born nor apprenticed there. Van Mander's report fails to mention that he was born in Oudewater near Gouda, i.e. in Southern Holland. We learn this from a note handed down by Sanderus, according to which Isenbrant was a pupil of *Gerardi Davidis Veteraquensis*, and from a collection of epitaphs that mentions *Gheeraert Davidts gheboren van Oudewater*².

2. Beffroi, Vol. I, p. 225.

He received commissions from the municipality in 1488, 1495 and 1498. For 1487/88, he was designated *Vinder* of his guild, and again for 1495/96 and 1498/99. In 1501/2 he became its head. Soon after 1496, he married Cornelia Cnoop, daughter of the head of the goldsmiths' guild. He died at Bruges on 13th August 1523.

Collective stylistic criticism has successfully proceeded from two works. According to documents extending from 1487 to 1498, David painted several panels for the jurymen's chamber of the Bruges town-hall, beginning with a *Last Judgment* of which not a trace is left (1021). Further entries indicate that he did other paintings for this chamber, although the themes are not mentioned; but since the final documentary entry is dated 1498/99, we may unhesitatingly relate the payment it covers to the so-called Judgment panels, now kept in the Bruges museum (222, Plates 224, 225), one of which bears the date 1498. There was a tradition that places where justice was meted out should be embellished with historical paintings exemplifying instances of stern retribution. Towards the end of his career, Dieric Bouts depicted a drastic and heroic anecdote of this kind on two panels in the Stadhuis at Louvain³, to impress judges and malefactors with the triumph of law. Some 25 years later the same kind of task fell to the Bruges master.

3. Cf. Vol. III, p. 18.

The subject chosen was the case of a venal judge, Sisamnes, convicted, removed and punished by Cambyses. On two panels, some six feet high and more than five feet wide, are shown, first the indictment and conviction of the judge, and then his

execution. A jurors' room is pervaded by apprehension and a sense of crushing responsibility, and exhortation and admonition in such an atmosphere called for dramatic narrative and sombre solemnity. The painter was constrained to abandon the craftsmanlike tradition of devotional painting and meet this out-of-the-ordinary, precarious challenge on his own. Yet the conspicuously deep, heavy and murky coloration of the two pictures stems in part from their state. They are unevenly covered with layers of varnish that have become opaque, and look very different from their original appearance (1031).

The first scene shows an act of state in open court. The king, amidst a press of his retainers, faces the throne of the delinquent judge, enumerating his misdeeds, index finger of one hand against thumb of the other. Fine in stature and of stately dignity, he stands out from his entourage, among whom heads of portrait character predominate. The tense features of the judge express helplessness and a tormenting sense of guilt—or at least the painter's intention to portray such feelings becomes plain. A henchman grips one of Sisamnes' arms, to pull him off the judge's seat.

There is a Renaissance-like breadth to the horizontal chain of heads, which are not truly arranged in depth, although they partly overlap. The upright figures, nevertheless, stand side by side in full three-dimensionality. There is a clear and deliberate effort towards realism of locale, lifelike verisimilitude of the figures and consistent lighting, not without a certain pedantic zeal. The perspective of the oblique wall of the court is not altogether successful. The lines of the tiled floor do not sufficiently converge, and the angle of the floor itself is too steep. The marketplace in the background seems to lie at a higher level than the courtroom, giving the latter the aspect of a basement. The master uses sharp contrasts of light and dark in his endeavour to organize the throng, to delimit the figures and give each its own due and individuality, but his overemphasis on formal detail slows the pace. Lacking the robust venturesomeness of Geertgen tot Sint Jans, the master is a long way from Rogier and Memlinc in his vision, and more on the side of Jan van Eyck.

Theme of the second panel is the flaying of Sisamnes. The painter depicts the grisly proceedings with neither passion nor demoniac glee, on the contrary, with the sober precision of a surgeon. With solemn objectivity, he dwells on the bodily details, which unfold in large and painstaking clarity. Nothing is glossed over, we are spared no aspect of the revolting operation, no dramatic devices soften the grim torture. The spectators neither gloat nor show emotion. They are equally lacking in compassion and malice. Apparently, they are witnessing the execution as a matter of official duty. Complacent and without qualms, they witness the torturing as an act of just retribution.

The decorative motive on the first panel—children holding garlands of fruit—is derived from Memlinc⁴ or was at least suggested to our master by Memlinc.

4. Cf. p. 20, above.

At the time David began his work in Bruges, in 1484, Memlinc was the reigning master there. Not until after Memlinc's death, in 1494, was his own stature beyond dispute. Gerard David felt himself the superior of Memlinc, who was about 30 years his senior. The German's art seemed to him thin, playful and regressive. His own temperament was different, rooted in a different artistic soil. Gerard David brought new standards of realism to Bruges, although it turned out that his vision

and his approach were not unlike those of the inspired Jan van Eyck half a century before.

To the Italianate embellishments that had reached Memlinc's studio in some unknown way, David added a second Southern motive, the oval reliefs to either side of the judge's chair, copied from ancient cut stones, or at least from Italian plaques going back to such gem stones. The judgment of Marsyas who, like Sisamnes, was flayed alive seems an appropriate allusion in this place.

David put three children atop the capitals of his columns, rather than Memlinc's two, and the two putti are no longer jammed into the soffit but seated on a console. The fussy Gothic ornamentation has been eliminated.

A decade after the Justice panels, David created the painting now preserved in the museum at Rouen (215, Plate 218). Originally it stood in the Carmelite monastery of Sion, and in the 17th century it was described in these words: *In ecclesia videre est famosissimam picturam summi altaris B. Virginis inter Virgines, quam Gerardus David celeberrimus pictor posuit anno 1509*⁵. The account of this painting in a convent inventory of 1537⁶ confirms the identification and expressly states 'painted and donated by Master Geeraat David'. There is mention of shutters for this altarpiece which were unpainted inside and out.

It is a masterpiece, and its theme, an assemblage of holy women, demanded nothing the painter-donor, at the summit of his career, was unable to offer. Memlinc too gave his best in similarly conceived compositions. But David's work is more profound, of greater density and sonority than Memlinc's panels. The vertical dimension is relatively small, and the picture area is filled with figures to the margins. There is neither architecture nor ornamentation nor vista. The sharply illuminated bodies in their heavy robes are set against a dark ground, emerging in depth from a soft chiaroscuro, a group extended laterally in loose symmetry. The Virgin with the chastely attired Child is at the centre, surrounded by ten holy women, with two angels with musical instruments to the right and left of her, the virginal company seeming to encircle their mistress in a wide, shallow arch. The pattern of floor tiles leads vertically into the picture, enhancing the illusion of depth, already obtained by the twists and turns of the figures, the delicate nuances in scale and the lighting.

The generalized elements are not set off sharply from the portraitlike, the two being carefully blended. The attributes of the saints are discreetly introduced. In the left foreground, St. Catherine is identified by the wheels in her crown (215, Plate 220). Turning toward her is St. Agnes, looking very much like a portrait and identified by the lamb. At the left edge is St. Dorothy with her basket. On the right side sits St. Barbara, her tower in her headband, beside her St. Godelieve reading a book, with a scarf about her neck—she was strangled. St. Cecilia, behind her, is identified by the organ. At the right edge is St. Lucy, eye in hand, also bearing the aspect of a portrait. Three further young women appear, two at either shoulder of the Virgin, and another between the angel and St. Agnes. One is identified doubtfully as St. Fausta, from the saw, another as St. Apollonia, from the pincers, while the third remains unnamed. The man at left is clearly a donor portrait—none less than the master himself (215, Plate 270), the source of a portrait drawing in the Arras Codex—as is his symmetrical opposite in the upper righthand corner, a woman with hands joined in prayer, who should be the master's wife, Cornelia Cnoop.

5. Beffroi, Vol. 1, p. 234.

6. Beffroi, Vol. 1, p. 289.

It is Bodenhausen's notion⁷ that the woman donor portrays the devout *Huſfrauwe van Lambyn* who paid for the wood panel on which the altarpiece is painted⁸, while the painter portrayed his wife in the person of St. Catherine. Whether right or not, it is noteworthy that an intelligent observer should have conceived this idea. Apart from dress and attributes, the saints are indeed hard to distinguish from the donors. They are individualized and full of throbbing life. All the faces, portraits or otherwise, are marked by purity of character and nobility of stance. Possibly the saints are idealized portraits of the convent ladies of Sion. In any event, the master, who donated the panel, must have entertained close personal relations with the convent.

Two works, in sum, are documented with certainty as David's creations, the Justice panels of 1498 and the Rouen panel of 1509. Since the master began his work in Bruges in 1484 and died in 1523, we thus gain a first impression of his middle period, in two specimens that are separated by a considerable gap in time. We may extrapolate the line joining these two fixed points, both in a forward and backward direction, gaining an idea of the general trend of the master's development in his youth and old age.

The panel of 1509 includes a self-portrait (215, Plate 270). To judge from it, the master was then about 50 years old. This would mean that he was born about 1460. In any event, by no stretch of the imagination can the Justice panels be regarded as a youthful work in the proper sense. As the century drew to its close, David was already a mature man.

A few of the works that have been undisputedly awarded to the master by stylistic analysis may be dated even without resort to such criticism. One such is the major work in the Bruges museum with the *Baptism of Christ* (161, Plates 166-169). The donor, portrayed kneeling with a boy on the left interior shutter, is Jan de Trompes. On the right, with four girls, is his first wife, Elisabeth van der Meersch, who died on 11th March 1502. The second wife of de Trompes, Magdalena Cordier, is depicted on the outside of the shutter, with one daughter. The year in which this second marriage took place is not known, but Magdalena died in 1510. These dates lay the basis for the history of the altarpiece. It must have been commissioned shortly before 1502, while the first wife was still alive, for de Trompes would have been unlikely to assign pride of place opposite himself to his dead first wife after he had married the second. The second wife must have been added later, about 1507. Before her death in 1510 she bore three children, of whom only the eldest is depicted.

The two major pieces in the National Gallery at London can also be approximately dated. The panel showing a cleric with three saints is a shutter (219, Plate 223), almost square in format, of an altarpiece from the church of St. Donatian in Bruges, donated in 1501 by Bernardino de Salviatis. The *Betrothal of St. Catherine* (216, Plate 221), from the same church, was commissioned between 1500 and 1511 by van der Capelle.

The *Marriage at Cana* in the Louvre was once in the possession of the Brotherhood of the Holy Blood (183, Plate 194). The donor, Jan de Sedano, is identified by the embroidered pattern of thorns on his robe as a member of this society, which he joined in 1503. The picture must have been done soon after that date. From the stylistic evidence, we cannot assign it to a later time⁹.

7. *Loc. cit.*, p. 163.

8. According to the inventory entry cited above.

9. Bodenhausen is inclined to date it even earlier.

The same donor—to judge from the configuration of the head—commissioned the altarpiece of the Virgin, now also in the Louvre, although he looks much younger there (165, Plates 175–176). This would mean that the triptych—rightly claimed for Gerard David, in my opinion—is a relatively early work of the master. In style, it departs from the Justice panels (222, Plates 224, 225). The dress of the woman donor is consistent with the fashion of about 1495. Jan de Sedano looks very young, about 25, his wife about 18. I do not, unfortunately, know the date of their marriage.

All the other works of Gerard David that can be approximately dated fall into his middle period, delimited by the two major pieces that are authoritatively dated; but when we consider the altarpiece of the Virgin, we grope our way into the master's problematical early period.

In the Antwerp guild register, we find an entry alongside the year 1515 that reads: *Meester Gheraet van Brugghe schildere*. The newcomer is honoured with the title *Meester*, lacking for virtually all the other names. It is generally accepted, probably correctly, that this entry refers to none other but Gerard David; but why the Bruges master entered the Antwerp guild, and for what purpose, and how long he stayed there—these are questions that remain unanswered.

Gerard David's Early Period

Any attempt to arrange David's total oeuvre chronologically—by the aid of stylistic criticism and the few dates for which there is documentary evidence—results in a tripartition.

First period, from 1484 to 1498: The works presumably done before the Justice panels (222, Plates 224, 225), the Justice panels themselves, and the paintings done at approximately the same time.

Second period, from 1499 to 1511: The panels demonstrably belonging to this time, like the *Baptism of Christ* at Bruges (161, Plates 166–169), the Rouen panel (215, Plate 218), the two pieces in the National Gallery at London (216, Plate 221 and 219, Plate 223), and the works stylistically related to these major datable paintings.

Third period, from 1512 to 1523: There being no creations by David that can be demonstrated to belong to his late period, we can fill this space only by elimination. Those works that resist assignment to the first and second period, must be considered for the third.

It has not been very difficult to find works that are immediately plausible as having been done by Gerard David prior to the Justice panels. The list compiled by Bodenhausen includes 17 items preceding the Justice panels, a number of them wrongly, in my view. Yet the number can be enlarged with pictures not known to Bodenhausen. It is difficult, however, to propose a chronological sequence within this group. Its elements are diverse. The youthful master now tries one approach, now another. He seems to grow like a tree that sends out a broad network of roots, and rounds out its crown widely, while the central trunk strives upwards in firm and narrow limits.

In his early period, David leaned in various directions. He copied after Jan van Eyck, Rogier, the Master of Flémalle (?), Hugo van der Goes and Hans Memlinc. These changing models influenced his style in varying degree, from case to case.

Of early origin is the triptych of the Virgin in the Louvre (165, Plates 175, 176), as is also the triptych with a *Christ Nailed to the Cross* in the National Gallery and in Antwerp (162, Plates 170, 171). Others fall into place with these two. In overall appearance, the triptych of the Virgin differs from the Justice panels—it is fair, flowery and joyful in its local coloration. His mind crowded with impressions of Flanders, the lately arrived master boldly endeavoured to strike a balance between Jan van Eyck and Memlinc, perhaps in hopes of excelling both his predecessors.

At the centre the Virgin is shown enthroned, with angels, making music, standing to either side of her, stiff and round as candles. There is a Memlinc-like framework, an arch with putti and garlands of fruit, the children stuck awkwardly at the apex of the arch; a brocade runner at the Virgin's back; an Oriental rug at her feet. The posture of the infant Jesus is freely adapted after Jan van Eyck, similar to the van der Paele Virgin. The figures of Adam and Eve, on the exterior of the shutters, are also freely done after the famous models in the Ghent altarpiece.

The master departs fundamentally and deliberately from Memlinc in his striving for the illusion of three-dimensional mass. He also differs from Jan van Eyck, for his line glides rather than analyzes—also, of course, in the changed taste of his time. The semblance of physical verisimilitude, moreover, is achieved by penumbral rather than cast shadows, elaborated to an almost virtuoso degree on the outside shutters. Confined within spare limits, their vertical drapery lines of quiet nobility, the figures stand freely in space. A festive, decorative effect is wrought by tranquil areas of colour—two shades of red, light green, coruscating tones in the dress, a mild blue in the landscape background, pure bright grey in the masonry. The whole work breathes an air of springlike freshness.

The Virgin's eyes are slightly narrowed, her chin is prominent, and her face wears a faint smile. The child is mature in expression. His air of grave longing gives a hint of his mission.

A consistent scheme of lighting, bespeaking an expert knowledge of form, rounds the bodies, which appear lacking in detail and over wide areas are almost devoured by light. The delicate shadows and reflections run for the most part in bands, almost like lines.

Compared with this felicitous work, other youthful works of David seem contrived and tortured. The special quality of this triptych stems in part from its state. The panels have received but little varnish and may have faded a little from light.

In overall palette, the following works by David are somewhat related to the triptych of the Virgin:

A standing Madonna with two musical angels, in the Epstein collection, Chicago (217, Plate 222), a free rendering of the oft-copied *Virgin in the Apse*¹.

An *Annunciation* in the Detroit museum (175, Plate 189).

A *Nativity*, in the Friedsam collection, New York, to which the two panels from the Kaufmann collection have been reunited (159, Plates 161, 162).

Another early work—or at least one done at a considerable distance in time from the Justice panels—is the *Christ Nailed to the Cross* in London², the wings of which, as I demonstrated many years ago, are two panels in the Antwerp museum, showing mourners and horsemen (162, Plates 170, 171). The rarely represented scene is shown in an awkward and painstaking composition on a panel of unusually low vertical dimension. The master was here presumably thrown entirely on his own resources. The cross lies on the ground, against the slope of a hill whose skyline overlaps several figures in the middle- and background. Riders are seen, rising above the ridge of the hill, a visual approach testifying to a developed sense of space. The cross is constructed in perspective, its upright and cross piece extending along the diagonals of the picture. The body of Jesus on the cross is shown foreshortened and with some parts overlapping. Zealously and ambitiously, the master displays his skill before us. The Saviour's head, with its round, wide-open eyes is elaborated with scrupulously sharp precision in its unnatural position, the neck hidden, so that the head looks as though it were severed from the trunk.

The composition lacks integration. The ground area is inadequately filled by a garment and a dog sniffing at a skull. The executioners, tugging at the body of Jesus, hammering home the nails and digging the hole for the cross, display the same equanimity and detachment from their work as their colleagues who skin

1. Cf. Vol. II, No. 74.

2. No. 1 in Bodenhausen.

Sisamnes alive. Their vulgar character and low estate is expressed in their wide mouths and hooked noses. Zealously bending to the work, with wide-flung or drawn-up limbs, each figure is individually observed from life.

The panel is in places poorly preserved, and its evidence can, therefore, be accepted only with some reservations. In a better state, although darkened by heavy coats of varnish, the wings at Antwerp, with their crowded groups of figures, contrast with the wide and empty centre panel. Their format is almost square. On the left, in close array accommodated only with difficulty, are horse and foot, on the right four mourning women and St. John, seen as statuesque figures, upright, side by side. The centre panel shows the preparations, the beginning of the crucifixion, while one shutter shows the soldiery watching in frozen detachment, and the other the women and the disciple, waiting in protracted horror and torment. The heads of the horsemen are on a level with those of the standing soldiers. This popular 'isocephalism' is achieved by graduating the scale. The leader, on a small white horse, is displaced a little to the rear. The troop encircles the hilly place of judgment in an arch, its file extending towards the back and reappearing in the background of the centre panel.

In my opinion, we possess no less than three Passion panels, each showing Christ hanging on the cross, that are works from David's early period. Absent from Bodenhäusen's list, they are a panel from the monastery of St. Florian near Linz, exhibited for a time in the Vienna Staatsgalerie and now at Schloss Rohoncz (186, Plate 197), then a picture with Herr K. Kocherthaler at Madrid (188, Plate 198), and lastly one that recently reached the Barnes collection in Philadelphia (187, Plate 198). The two last-named are closely associated. The panel in Philadelphia, which comes from Spain, follows Rogier's altarpiece at Vienna with surprising fidelity (Vol. II, No. 11, Plates 18, 19). To the left of the cross are the Virgin and St. John, exactly as in the Vienna centre panel, even in the expressions and the lines of the drapery, on the right Mary Magdalene, as on one of the Vienna shutters, but reversed. In painting the picture now in Madrid, David proceeded from the same model. Mary Magdalene is exactly as in the Philadelphia panel, but the group of the Virgin and St. John is different, stricken with grief and fear. Of touching reticence, the figures are more autonomous in conception, although the influence of the model can still be sensed in the posture of the disciple and notably the position of his bare foot. For the rest, the panels differ in that in the first one, at Philadelphia, the horizon is placed high and the hilly countryside shows a characteristically Davidian town, rich in buildings and towers, while in the other the horizon lies notably low.

In neither instance is the body on the cross shaped after the model of Rogier. By and large, Netherlandish painting knew this body in two types. One, infinitely repeated, goes back to Rogier, who was Memlinc's source. Here the body is seen in half-view, with a bent outline, thighs at an obtuse angle to the lower leg. In the other type, seemingly going back to Jan van Eyck, the body is seen head on, with the legs rigidly extended. David chose the second form, rejecting the model of Rogier, even when he scrupulously clung to this model for the rest of the picture.

The panel from St. Florian's (186, Plate 197), with its close and complex knot of figures, stands on its own. The crucified Christ is drawn and modelled in a fashion similar to the other two Crucifixions, the head closely related to the one in the

London *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (162, Plate 170). A welcome find for lovers of 'objective marks' is the small dog sniffing at the skull, in the self-same posture as in the *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. The massed figures by the sides of the tree are joined and integrated in a degree of dramatic tension that transcends David's wont and capacity. The isoccephalism and parallelism peculiar to his composition are absent. I am certain he painted the picture, but no less certain that he did not invent it, rather copying a work by Jan van Eyck. In the figure seen from the back, the 'lost' profiles and the vehement gestures one senses after-images of the fiery temperament that must have dominated the lost original. The landscape too points the way to the source. Jerusalem rises in the background, constructed with the kind of powerful topographical imagination none but Jan van Eyck possessed. There is a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, with many figures, that is preserved in several replicas³, rightly traced back to an original by Jan van Eyck, occasionally to the mythical Hubert. The specimen in the Budapest museum (Vol. I, Plate 65), especially, shows an imaginary albeit plausible depiction of the Holy City, broadly set on rising land, surrounded by a wall, and with a rotunda at the centre. A comparison of these town views leads to the conclusion that they are conceived in the same spirit, although by no means copied, one from the other—in other words, that there must have been both a *Christ Carrying the Cross* and a *Crucifixion*, with city views, by Jan van Eyck, and that David chose the *Crucifixion* as his model. David, by the way, accepted as valid and binding the pictorial tradition in respect of the buildings of Jerusalem, especially the Temple, a rotunda looking not unlike a modern gasometer. It may have been believed that Jan van Eyck actually visited Jerusalem. Parts of this town view, especially the rotunda, recur in David's œuvre, and in the works of his followers.

Three representations of the Nativity enrich our ideas of David's early period, pictures in Budapest (177, Plate 190), in the Pannwitz collection⁴ (178, Plate 190), and in the Friedsam collection in New York (159, Plates 161, 162). The Budapest and Pannwitz panels coincide in part in composition. In both, the Virgin kneels at the right, the Child lying on the ground on a corner of her cloak. This motive is taken from Rogier's Bladelin altarpiece. In both, two angels kneel at centre foreground, and the landscape is composed of the same elements, including the Temple rotunda, and bears the same relation to the picture area and the figure groups. Joseph and the shepherds differ, however. In Budapest, Joseph is seen head on, kneeling at the centre, a worried old man, carrying a burning candle in his left hand, which he shields with his right hand. Beside him stands a boy of dwarflike stature, while in the left foreground a larger shepherd is about to kneel down. The head of a third shepherd is visible in a gap in the wall at the right. In the other picture, Joseph is cleanshaven⁵, and conspicuously large, kneeling in the attitude of a donor, at an angle and towards the Child. The single shepherd kneels at left with folded hands, partly cut off by the edge of the picture.

The Budapest panel (177, Plate 190) is in the better state of preservation, but by comparison it is immature and amateurish in effect, in more than one respect. Each figure seems to stand alone. The horizon is high, and the empty ground too steep. The angels are runtish, and the overall air of devotion is sullen and dull. If we put this picture at the beginning—insofar as we can find the true beginning in our sur-

3. Cf. Vol. I, p. 70-71.

4. The first two pictures are listed in Bodenhause's book as Nos. 2 and 3. The third, with which two shutters have been combined to form a triptych, apparently correctly, is No. 5.

5. Bodenhause thinks this figure was 'added at a later date, with little skill'.

living store—we must conclude that the master's initial creative trend went determinedly in the direction of three-dimensional appearance, and of vigorous contrasts of light and dark.

The *Nativity* in the Friedsam collection (159, Plates 161, 162) stands quite apart from the other two versions of this theme. It is true, however, that its state of preservation dictates caution in pronouncing judgment. The pigment layer has become rather thin. The composition is pleasing and effortlessly rounded, Child and angels are larger. The old Rogierian motive of the kneeling mother with the infant Jesus lying on a corner of her cloak has been modified. The master no longer clings slavishly to his model. The picture seems to have been done at a later date than the Budapest *Nativity*, and of the three it is most reminiscent of the triptych of the Virgin in the Louvre—in its light coloration as well as in formal idiom. These observations serve greatly to facilitate placing the pictures in chronological sequence.

We get a hint for dating this panel from the fact that the same composition, with only minor, appropriate modifications, occurs in a breviary that once belonged to Isabella of Spain⁶, a book that was done not long before 1497 (Plate 192). Whether or not this miniature was actually done by David—Winkler plausibly argues that it was—it does persuade us to extend the date, prior to 1497, to the panel.

6. In the British Museum.
Cf. Winkler, *Vlämische Buchmalerei*, p. 134.

An *Adoration* in the same book (Plate 192) partly coincides in composition with David's panel in the Pinakothek at Munich (181, Plate 192). In this case, however, it seems doubtful to me that the date of the book is binding upon the painting. For his Munich picture, David used an invention of Hugo van der Goes, and he may have modelled more than one *Adoration* on this original at various times. The book illumination, whether by his hand or based on one of his drawings, might well be older than the Munich panel.

Eclectically picking and choosing as he went on his way, the master used the many different forms that Bruges tradition offered him. Thus, from case to case, formal worlds strange to him determined his style to a greater or lesser degree. For that very reason, works that were done at approximately the same time appear different, and it becomes difficult to propose a chronological sequence from picture to picture. I hope that the following order comes in some measure close to the truth:

1. *The Nativity*, Budapest (177, Plate 190).
2. The circular *Virgin Suckling the Child*, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (211, cf. Vol. II, No. 70b, Plate 98). A free rendering of an oft-repeated composition that may go back to the Master of Flémalle. The Virgin's head is similar to that in the Budapest *Nativity*, the infant Jesus strange in aspect.
3. *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene*, K. Kocherthaler collection, Madrid (188, Plate 198). The Magdalene is after Rogier.
4. *The Nativity*, von Pannwitz collection, Hartekamp near Haarlem (178, Plate 190).
5. *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene*, Barnes collection, Philadelphia (187, Plate 198). After Rogier.
6. *Christ on the Cross, with Mourners and Soldiers*, Schloss Rohoncz (186, Plate 197). From the monastery of St. Florian, presumably after Jan van Eyck.

7. *The Adoration of the Kings*, Uffizi, Florence (179, Plate 190).
8. Triptych with *Christ Nailed to the Cross*, London and Antwerp (162, Plates 170, 171).
9. *The Nativity*, Friedsam collection, New York. The two shutters, from the Kaufmann collection, are also there (159, Plates 161, 162).
10. Triptych of the Virgin, Louvre, Paris (165, Plates 175, 176).
11. Madonna in half-length, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (209, Plate 214).
12. Madonna in half-length, Lázaro collection, Madrid, formerly in the Traumann collection (205, Plate 207). After Rogier.
13. *The Annunciation*, Detroit museum (175, Plate 189).
14. Madonna with two musical angels, Epstein collection, Chicago (217, Plate 222). After the Master of Flémalle (?).
15. Madonna in half-length, National Gallery, London (210, Plate 214). After Hugo van der Goes (?).
16. *St. Jerome*, National Gallery, London (221, Plate 226).
17. *The Tree of Jesse*, Lyons museum (196, Plate 203). After an engraving by Master W with the Key (Plate 202).
18. *The Adoration of the Kings*, Brussels museum (180, Plate 191).
19. The Justice panels, Bruges Academy (222, Plates 224, 225). Dated 1498.

Gerard David's Middle and Late Periods— His Drawings and Book Illuminations

Among the creations of David's second or middle period, the London panel showing Canon Bernardino de Salviatis with three saints (219, Plate 223), commissioned in 1501, is probably the earliest. This well-preserved painting—slightly overcleaned only in the head of St. Bernardin—is a straightforward, well-balanced composition. Against a backdrop of trees, their gracefully curved contours standing out in the middleground from a sky overcast with streaky clouds, three saints grouped at a respectful distance about the kneeling donor stand in a bright, hilly countryside. St. Martin is seen in side view, a statuesque figure of high solemnity, raising his hand in blessing. The straight, parallel lines of his cope form a firm termination of the panel—it must not be forgotten that this is the left shutter of a triptych. St. Bernardin is half-turned, his sorrowful eyes gazing straight ahead, his right hand groping for the donor's shoulder. St. Donatian, facing towards the front, bows slightly with inclined head and eyes towards the donor, whose relation to these patron saints is expressed with incomparable profundity. Groups of this kind were painted on innumerable occasions, for the most part by rote, as a mere physical assemblage. Here there is a sense of brotherhood, inspired by the close and delicate bonds spun among the figures. These men are in communion without need for words or vehement gestures. The portrait head is enhanced and transfigured in the congenial company of the saints, whose faces hover midway between the individual and the ideal.

The Betrothal of St. Catherine in the National Gallery, London (216, Plate 221), is a donation by Richard van der Capelle to the church of St. Donatian at Bruges. According to Weale—who never published his documentary source—the commission was given in 1501. This work is particularly closely related to the Rouen panel, done in 1511 (215, Plate 218). Its execution may have extended over a period of time, if the date of the commission is indeed correct.

In lucidity of space, ease of symmetry, nobility of human proportions and solemnity of mood the painting is well-nigh perfect. The master has reached his goal. Graduations in figure scale and the masterfully constructed perspective of the tile flooring achieve the complete illusion that the figures are seated within a real space. At the centre of a firmly delimited porch, shut off at the back by a garden wall, is the Virgin. At the right are St. Barbara and, looming large to the fore, Mary Magdalene, on the opposite side the donor and St. Catherine, to whom the infant Jesus proffers the ring. The figures are at varying depths, with delicate transitions, rather than at fixed, clearly marked levels. They make the space tangible, not only by occupying it three-dimensionally while leaving the interstices clear, but by reaching with their arms from one level into another. The forward and backward gestures of St. Catherine and the Magdalene enhance the sense of spatial integration. To the right and left, the massive fabric of the donor's and the Magdalene's robes closes off the space at the front like broad, framing pilasters. The chain of figures arching back towards the centre, one of David's familiar compositional elements, has here matured to classic perfection. In its essentials, the panel is well-preserved, although a

few places, like the Virgin's hands, are overcleaned. It is covered with a heavy coat of varnish, however, and in consequence carries an air of melancholy chiaroscuro in excess of what the master intended.

The immaculate harmony of the two London altar panels, silencing all doubts, demands and critical objections, is not matched in the Bruges triptych with the *Baptism of Christ* (161, Plates 166-169), on which David presumably worked between 1502 and 1507¹. The theme of its centrepiece required the kind of nimble imagination the master was unable to muster. The act of baptism lacks dynamic power. The painter had to abandon the kind of spatial disposition in which he felt at home. A strip of ground across the whole width, shut off behind by a wall of masonry or trees—they were not enough in this instance. Indeed, he had trouble in adapting the terrain to his narrative. The Saviour stands in the water in the foreground, while the Baptist kneels on the bank. David laid out the composition with forethought, but in the end result the figures stand stiffly in a most natural landscape. The saints and donor portraits on the shutters, inside and out, are well-preserved examples of a style, now matured in assurance, which David employed in a whole series of altarpieces.

Three panels from a Genoa altarpiece, now in the Palazzo Bianco in that city (172, Plates 186, 187), were probably done soon after 1511. The centre panel shows the enthroned Virgin, the left one St. Jerome, and the right one a saint in black cassock with a bishop's crosier. The Virgin coincides with curious fidelity with the central figure in the Rouen altar panel (215, Plate 218). The master repeated himself, for he was content with himself, and his patrons were satisfied with his work.

About this time—possibly a few years earlier—were painted the *Marriage at Cana* in the Louvre² (183, Plate 194), the St. Michael altarpiece in Vienna (166, Plates 178-180), and the Passion altarpiece shutters from the Kann collection, which have gone to the Morgan Library in New York, and which go with the central panel showing a *Lamentation*, in the Johnson collection (163, Plate 172).

A major work of the middle period is the *Deposition* in the Frick collection at New York (192, Plate 200), a composition in full figure, of which details on a smaller scale are known in several specimens.

Of the several *Lamentations*, the one in the John G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia (163, Plate 172), like the specimen in the K. Kocherthaler collection at Madrid (163a, Plate 173), was in my opinion done earlier than the more freely composed picture in the private collection of J. Böhler at Munich (193, Plate 200). The Madonna in half-length, which has gone from the Traumann to the von Pannwitz collection (206, Plate 208), seems to have been done soon before 1510. It comports well with the Madonna on the outside shutter of the altarpiece of the *Baptism of Christ* (161, Plate 169).

David's third and last period cannot be sharply delimited. The vigour of his art was ebbing. In so productive and successful a workshop, we must be prepared to look for traces of the work of assistants. The master's style imperceptibly merges into that of his imitators. We come upon works betraying signs of fatigue and indifference after long effort, a surfeit of experience and assurance, works we are predisposed to regard as dating from David's old age. It is precisely in such works that the master moves far away from his point of departure. His followers, especially

1. Cf. p. 80, above.

2. Bodenhäuser puts this work much earlier—cf. p. 77, above.

the painter whom we call Adriaen Isenbrant and who began his work about 1515, are at times very close to him. There are pictures before which it is possible to waver between teacher and pupil. When we look more closely at such borderline cases, we can sense the direction David followed towards the end. I know of no work that speaks so eloquently of his late period as the *Lamentation* in the London National Gallery (194, Plate 201). Small in format, cold and pale in coloration, it is reminiscent of the art of the miniaturist, sentimental almost to the point of the lachrymose, and monotonous in the head formations. We meet the same prettiness and lack of contrast in certain Madonnas. Also from this period are the *Crucifixion* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (185, Plate 196), and the *Adoration* in the London National Gallery (182, Plate 193), ingratiating in its silvery tones and subtle delicacy, again like book illumination. Under close scrutiny, the Berlin *Crucifixion* displays the full measure of the master's achievement. His every virtue seems present. Yet the total effect is dominated by a sense of almost painful bareness and sobriety. Order has become pedantry, and careful brushwork has deteriorated into arid smoothness.

In the year 1515 David sojourned in Antwerp, we know not how long nor to what purpose. Art historians have eagerly pounced on this date. Established dates of this kind are so rare that it becomes understandably tempting to exploit them to the profit of the painter's biography, which is full of so many gaps. A change of locale might justify a presumed change of style. We are rather well-informed on the Antwerp scene about 1515, know the painters who set the tone—Quentin Massys, Joos van Cleve, the Mannerists. Can we really say that we see a late impetus or turning-point in the store of works by David that have come down to us? I can observe no such thing. There were many new influences at work in the Schelde port about 1515, robust stirrings of more than one kind. Yet but for the documentation in point, none would conceive the idea, in regarding David's development, that there was a particular change of scene, let alone a visit to Antwerp. As a critical date in the sequence of his work the year 1515 simply will not wash. My own conjecture is that the aging, renowned, self-assured Bruges master had his name entered in the Antwerp guild register in order to carry out a commission there, returning to his quiet home quite untouched by the busy and colorful life of the booming port city.

A picture that is hard to fit into any sequence is the panel, *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John*, in the Palazzo Bianco at Genoa (189, Plate 199), a picture in which David's striving for monumentality brought surprising results. The horizon lies very low, and the three figures, like distant, solitary visions, loom as dark or bright masses against the heavily overcast sky. As in no other painting, the sense of void is here enhanced to the level of tragic, epic mood. The figures stand like lone statues, in stark and uniform illumination, picturesque of aspect. I know of no Antwerp model to which the master might owe the inspiration for this extraordinary imagery, and I incline to the belief that he drew the power to take this step before 1515 rather than after.

The very large St. Anne altarpiece (167, Plates 181-183) I regard as another work of rather late vintage. Its three tall main panels are preserved in the Widener collection at Philadelphia, while the six parts that may have formed its predella, relating the legends of Sts. Francis and Nicholas, are at Lockinge, in the possession of the

heir of Lady Wantage. In part on account of their unusually large scale, the statue-like main figures look empty and barren of form; but the narrative panels too, medium in scale, are done somewhat casually. This work may have originated towards the end of the second or the beginning of the third period.

Zealous efforts have been made to attribute at least a few drawings to each and every early Netherlandish painter, but hitherto they have borne little fruit and scarcely enriched our view of their style. In respect of Gerard David, there are four small sheets with drawings in silverpoint, apparently the remnants of a sketchbook, that rate serious consideration as his work. They were sold in Vienna with the Klinkosch collection (Nos. 468, 470, 471 and 473), identified in the auction catalogue as 'H. Holbein'. One of these drawings is now in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt³ (Plate 228), another was acquired for the Louvre in the auction of the von Lanna collection⁴ (Plate 228), while the two remaining ones are in the Czartoryski museum in Cracow (Plate 229). They show female heads, figures at half-length, a male head, and hands. The drawings are delicately and softly modelled and bear the marks of studies from life. They may well be considered originals, noted down by David during his mature period. With less certainty I add the imperfectly preserved male head, also in silverpoint, which turned up in the von Lanna and J. Wauters auctions at Amsterdam in 1926 (No. 68), to be acquired by Fr. Koenigs of Haarlem⁵ (Plate 229). Completely of a piece with the sheets from the Klinkosch collection is a girl at half-length in the Louvre⁶ (Plate 229). The other drawings Popham published over David's name (Nos. 28 and 29) are not entirely convincing⁷ (1104) (Plate 230). The portrait of an elderly woman in the Louvre⁸ seems to be an original by David's hand (Plate 229).

David's relation with the art of book illumination has caused many headaches. Evidently he exerted a deep and enduring effect on this art, which went through a late period of rich flowering in Bruges in his time. It is not merely that compositions known to us from panel paintings by David and his imitators turn up in books, in whole or part, and in many modifications. To a curiously high degree, formal idiom and types employed by professional illuminators in Bruges seem to be influenced by the art of Gerard David. Certain small panel paintings he did himself, or that were done in his studio, approach illumination—condescend to it, so to speak⁹. Did he paint miniatures himself? We might invoke Guicciardini as a witness, if only we could be sure that his *Gherardo excellentissimo nell'alluminare* refers to our master rather than to Gerart Horenbout. David was a member of the guild of book illuminators¹⁰. The most plausible explanation for the power of his influence is to assume that he made drawings of his works available to the book illuminators' guild.

Winkler has quite correctly pointed out¹¹ that the breviary of Isabella of Spain in the British Museum includes several miniatures that rise head and shoulders above the general line of Bruges illumination. More than any other works of the genre, including the other pictures in the same volume, these miniatures are reminiscent of the personal style of Gerard David the panel painter. They are a *Nativity*, an *Adoration*, and a *St. Barbara* (Plate 192). Modelled with vigour, they are noteworthy for their freshness and vitality, amid the general stereotypes. There is much

3. Well-reproduced in the large catalogue of the drawings in this museum.

4. Reproduced as Plate 1407 in the Schönbrunner-Meder publication for the Albertina.

5. Inadvertently reproduced in reverse in Schönbrunner-Meder, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 1407.

6. Reproduced in Popham, *Drawings of the Early Flemish School*, Ben, London, 1926, No. 30.

7. Cf. Sir Martin Conway, *Burlington Magazine*, xiii, p. 115; F. Winkler, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vi, p. 271.

8. Photograph by Giraudon.

9. For example, the diptych in the van Gelder collection at Uccle.

10. Beffroi, II, p. 293.

11. *Die Flämische Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 134.

that speaks in favour of David having embellished these pages with his own hand. The book was done shortly before 1497. The panel paintings acknowledged to be most closely related to these illuminations in composition and formal idiom were all done about this time. More specifically, the *Nativity* in the London breviary (Plate 192) resembles the *Nativity* in the Friedsam collection (159, Plates 161, 162). The coincidence is very close, yet not such that one thinks of a copy or imitation. Meaningful modifications bespeaking a creative mind of equal stature scarcely admit of any explanation other than that the artist who did these two works was one and the same man.

Even if we are right in singling out from the great mass several miniatures attributable to the panel painter, this does not fully answer the question of David's relation with book illumination in Bruges. An explanation is needed for the close and mysterious ties between him and the so-called Hortulus Master and with the chief artist of the Codex Grimani, who appears to be identical with Simon Bening. Perhaps the panel painter did indeed provide drawings that were used in the studios of the book illuminators. At least, we are inclined to envisage the panel painter as the giver and the book illuminators as the receivers. But conceivably the opposite might be true. Book illumination migrated from Ghent to Bruges, moving from the thrall of Hugo van der Goes to that of Gerard David. We may not yet be able to identify the main exponents of illumination by name, but apparently Alexander Bening, strongly influenced by Hugo van der Goes, was the leader in Ghent from 1470 on. In 1487 he came to Bruges, and he may well have enriched panel painting in that town with pictorial ideas. Unfortunately, art criticism has not yet managed to fill the empty name of Alexander Bening with life. Yet it has become plausible that the large group of illuminations dating from 1480 to 1530 and showing, through many modifications, a tenacious loyalty to certain compositions and motives may be considered the œuvre of three members of the Bening family, the father and his two sons. Once this premise is granted, it would appear that Gerard David entertained close relations with this famous family, and may have on occasion collaborated with its members, influenced their formal idiom, and even received pictorial ideas from them.

The Character of Gerard David

In Bruges, where he began his career as a master and—apart from a passing sojourn in Antwerp (1515)—lived until his death, Gerard David was always dubbed 'the man from Oudewater'. He was born in that small town near Gouda, that is, in the South of Holland. The general view of him is that he was a master who brought the art of Holland to the Flemish town. We know the place of his birth, but nothing of his apprenticeship nor of his years as a journeyman. In particular, we cannot be at all sure that he came to Bruges from a studio of the Dutch school. What his Dutch homeland gave him, the degree in which it influenced his style—this we can judge only by critical scrutiny of his early works. A comparison of these works with the paintings of Geertgen tot Sint Jans may be useful, for Geertgen was his contemporary and did his work in the very heart of Holland, Haarlem.

Do we really know any youthful works of David? Are we clear about the state of his art before he settled in Bruges and was influenced by the art of that town? We have traced back his work as well as we could reaching the year 1490 and perhaps a few years earlier than that. We know the phase his art entered after he had seen the works of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memlinc, after he had adapted himself to the Flemish pattern and demand. Gerard emerges into the light of history as a painter eager to learn, yielding to the pressure of tradition that enveloped him in Bruges.

Subtraction may be the best method for estimating what he brought with him, how strong a hand origin and disposition had in his art. What remains after we make allowance for the influences he received? What models did he pick in his new home? What did he accept, what ignore? How did he modify his models? How much was he able to assimilate? When we put such questions to the works we regard as his earliest, we come close to his roots and may be able in some measure to isolate the Dutch element in the complex overall picture.

Gerard copied—especially during the first phase of his Bruges career. In the surviving store of his works, full of gaps as it is, we can show up the following relationships:

After Jan van Eyck:

The *Crucifixion* from St. Florian's (186, Plate 197). Stylistic criticism permits inferences in respect of a lost original.

The triptych of the Virgin in the Louvre (165, Plates 175, 176). The infant Jesus follows the van der Paele altarpiece, Adam and Eve the Ghent altarpiece.

After Rogier:

The *Nativity* in Budapest (177, Plate 190), and the one in the Pannwitz collection (178, Plate 190). The kneeling Virgin and the Child on the ground follow the Bladelin altarpiece.

The *Crucifixion* in the possession of a Munich art dealer (187, Plate 198), and the

one in the Kocherthaler collection at Madrid (188, Plate 198) follow the Vienna triptych.

The Madonna at half-length once in the Traumann collection at Madrid (205, Plate 207) follow a lost panel that has often been copied.

After the so-called Master of Flémalle :

The circular *Virgin Suckling the Child* in the John G. Johnson Collection (211, cf. Vol. II, No. 70b, Plate 98) freely follows another panel that has often been copied.

The Virgin in the Apse, with two angels (217, Plate 222), likewise freely follows an oft-copied panel.

After an engraving by the Master W with the Key :

The Tree of Jesse, in the Lyons museum (196, Plate 203).

After van der Goes :

The *Adoration* in the Munich Pinakothek (181, Plate 192), after a lost painting.

The Virgin at half-length in the National Gallery, London (210, Plate 214). Stylistic evidence leads to the conjecture that there was an original, now lost.

After an engraving :

St. Michael, in the Vienna altarpiece (166, Plates 178-179).

After Memlinc :

The triptych of the Virgin in the Louvre (165, Plates 175, 176)—the basic scheme, the decorations, putti and garlands.

The first Judgment panel in the Bruges Academy (222, Plate 224)—decorations, putti, garlands.

We must be clear about the purpose and nature of such copying, and overcome our prejudices. Originality, to the modern connoisseur, means precisely that. From our viewpoint, copying, on the æsthetic side, becomes a flaw that threatens unity of style, and on the ethical side, a form of dishonesty. But the painters of the 15th century copied in good conscience and faith. Certain hieratic subjects like the *Virgin in the Apse* (217, Plate 222) and the circular *Virgin Suckling the Child* (211, cf. Vol. II, No. 70b, Plate 98) had become the focus of veneration and were demanded over and over again by the devout. The faithful insisted on compositions that had become familiar and dear to them, clung to ecclesiastical tradition, may even have rejected innovation as impious and insolent profanation. In Bruges, about 1500, in particular, the people were conservative-minded, lending support to the creative sloth of their painters. No, copying alone does not mean lack of talent, or mediocrity. We must distinguish between borrowing only the composition, and borrowing that goes down to formal detail. When a painter translates the borrowed composition into his own idiom, his creative originality is revealed even in the copying. But in the degree the imitator clings to the formal details of his model, he reveals his own creative sterility and vacillation. What matters is not *that* Gerard copied, but *how*. In his role of copyist, David, in varying measure and many nuances, retained his autonomy, proved himself, and maintained his integrity. With no two

of his predecessors was his approach the same. From Memlinc he took over motives, but the influence did not go deep nor did David falter on his way. I like to think that he looked upon this predecessor as a rival, of whom he could easily get the better, by virtue of his skill and application. Rogier, on the other hand, represented the hoary past, an onerous but sanctified tradition on which David was reluctant to lay impious hands. He felt constrained to copy even the drapery folds in the *Vienna Crucifixion* (Vol. II, No. 11, Plates 18, 19).

Van der Goes he found inaccessible. I have on one occasion described as a frozen waterfall the copy of the Ghent master's Munich *Adoration* (181, Plate 192), done in David's middle or late period. Under his hands, this sweeping, billowing group became rigidified. The strange model ran thoroughly against his grain, and he never succeeded in remoulding it in his own image. The result is a jarring discrepancy in style.

It was quite customary in Bruges towards the end of the 15th century to have recourse to the compositions of Rogier, as we have often seen when considering Memlinc and the lesser masters. David too was unable to escape this pattern. True, Jan van Eyck was commonly excluded from it. Memlinc, for example, ignored this predecessor completely. David, on the other hand, not only took over compositions and motives from Jan van Eyck; something of this inspired pioneer's temperament and joy in nature seems to have rubbed off on his sedate style.

The elements that obtrude in David's early works, that mark him off most sharply from Memlinc, are the utterly three-dimensional quality of the figures, the impression of real space, and the strong contrasts of light and dark.

What in Memlinc's eyes was only a limited portion of the picture area, in which shadows are used to indicate the relation of form to depth, becomes for David an alternation of light and dark surfaces, from which the illusion of living bodies in space emerges. Heads are seen as moulded shapes that move rhythmically out of the depths and back, gently merging into one another. Groups of figures swing away in an arch or semicircle. This compositional approach is present at the very outset, bespeaking an active spatial vision.

There is no overall consistency of lighting. Whether the scene is indoors or out, the light strikes sharply in the foreground, while the background is pervaded by a diffuse and lucid brightness. Lighting is subservient to composition and modelling. In the early pictures, the contrast between warm colours in the foreground and cold ones in the back is often harsh in effect. In the later works, cool tints push to the fore, evenly covering the picture surface with daylight.

David's visual approach may well be called 'Dutch' and considered part of his native disposition, but the question remains whether and in what measure exposure to Jan van Eyck may have stimulated the master and led him on. This contact occurred only after David came to Bruges. If the effect of the element we sense to be 'Dutch' subsided in time, one possible explanation is that David grew more and more away from the spiritual hold his native land may have had upon him; but it may also be true that the influence of his first, exciting encounter with Jan van Eyck gradually ebbed.

What David took over from Rogier, almost as a matter of necessity, assumes the character of a foreign body in his style, but what he eagerly and joyfully accepted

from Jan van Eyck was thoroughly assimilated. The influence on him of Jan van Eyck was certainly profound, and for that very reason it tends to be concealed and is hard to analyze. David had a native capacity for assimilation, which in this case was enhanced by a basic affinity, a common origin, that heightened his powers, even as he copied. Like himself, Jan van Eyck had come from the East. Yet his own 'Dutch' phlegm was at odds with the inspiring genius of his predecessor.

David strove manfully for verisimilitude, and in consequence his vision fed on reality, which brought him face to face with the individual. In this way, the portrait element entered his lofty world, a kind of 'Dutch' enrichment of devotional painting, which we have observed also in the works of Geertgen and Dieric. Yet David's œuvre displays scarcely a trace of Geertgen's robust and forthright naïveté. Whatever peasant crudeness he may have brought with him was thoroughly stripped away in Bruges. Beside David's women, Geertgen's look like servant girls, doing the bidding of princesses. In Bruges, his new home—rich, jejune, bored—the master opted for the ruling class, the patricians, and was engulfed by rigid custom, solemn convention, and the inexorable demands of the church.

Schopenhauer distinguishes mathematical sublimity from dynamic. Applying this terminology, we find David's loftiness to be mathematical in character. Everything in his work is balanced and harmonized, from his contemplation of the Christian mysteries. Stability was his great goal, achieved when he was at his peak. His unshakable and impregnable firmness betokens complete faith and confidence in authority, both divine and secular. Yet his symmetry is not slavishly and compulsively rigid. It is open and relaxed, as though he bowed willingly, from a decent respect for others. There is no show of indignation, no locking of horns—his main outlines run straight upright or across, parallel to the frame, intersecting at right angles. Diagonals are for the most part eschewed, as are oblique positions in deep perspective. Instead, space is filled and rendered tangible through upright figures in many nuances of foreshortening, arranged in straight rows or arched array. Never does the action thrust itself violently into the depths.

A multiplicity of figures is shown in normal aspect, the rearward figures partly overlapped by those in front, the more so since they seem to stand less tall, on account of perspectival diminution. The older tradition, concerned with filling the picture while keeping all the figures visible, used a number of expedients precisely to avoid this kind of overlapping. The point of vantage was unnaturally raised, the laws of perspective were violated, or figures were made to sit or kneel before those who stood. In this respect, David surpassed his predecessors in skill and consistency. He shows an almost pedantic preference for isocephalism and the partial overlapping of figures and heads.

His ground levels are properly placed at right angles to the picture surface, at least in the mature pictures, where the lines of the tile patterns vigorously converge. In the London painting, *The Betrothal of St. Catherine* (216, Plate 221), this verisimilitude of the space enclosing the figures has been carried to the peak of perfection. Neither breeze nor bodily movement ripples the heavy clothing. In noble simplicity, the heavy robes droop down in artfully modified parallel vertical lines. On occasion, notably in the vacant, monumental pictures of the late period, the drapery folds resemble the fluting of columns.

David's art is ecclesiastical, and grows more and more so with time. His imagination is less preoccupied with what may have actually happened in a given time and place than with the meaning of the event, in terms of Christian doctrine. His Saviour is always God, whom torment cannot really touch; and the mourners beneath the cross, although sorrowing, receive an ennobling message of salvation. True to the austere views of religion, David transfigured his devotional pictures, purged them of all profane, genrelike, adventitious features. Unlike Geertgen, he does not offer 'histories', but icons in idealized dress, albeit incarnated in creatures of flesh and blood and fair humanity.

David's masonry is solid and smooth, devoid of ornament. Simple, sedate and stable in outlook, he rejected the playful, fussy, imaginative Gothic filigree style. Solemn dignity, befitting princes of the church, the majesty of contained grief, sovereign and inviolate chastity—these elements dominate David's vision, find expression in his statuesque figures and evenly proportioned heads. Every figure has a life of its own, distinct from common reality, within a broad, wholesome, physical presence, although surrendered to grave, lofty, ponderous thought. Divine beings and secular—the donors and portrait sitters—are all of the same mentality and mood, share the same ennobled and spiritualized features, the same air of concentration.

That complex organ, the human hand, vehicle of expression, is carefully studied from life, in many positions, gestures and aspects. These aristocratically cultivated hands, delicate in structure, with slightly swelling joints, grope, point, enjoin, grasp, with neither haste nor greed. One can almost reach out and clasp them.

Landscape is no longer merely something to fill the background. It is now elaborated in the middleground, as a dark wall of foliage, with a thorough knowledge of plants and soil. On occasion, landscape elements are even included among the foremost figures, to strike a lyrical chord—like the flowering shrub in the *Nativity* at Budapest (177, Plate 190). Rogier and Memlinc, in the main, know vegetation only at a distance, where trees with brightly dotted foliage serve to enliven the area—trees of unidentifiable species. Jan van Eyck, Dieric Bouts and Geertgen tot Sint Jans, each in his way, came closer to rock and plant formations, realistically painted flower-strewn soil in their foregrounds, planted hedges in their middlegrounds, identified certain plants. The Dutch penchant for landscape was our master's innate heritage, to be awakened by contact with Jan van Eyck. In the very earliest of his works that is known to me, the countryside with its green trees, bright pathways, blue hills and buildings largely sets the mood. Even when everything else was borrowed, he shaped the landscape background from his own resources. Yet his interest in nature yielded more and more to other predilections, although it still burst forth vigorously in the *Baptism of Christ* (161, Plates 166–169), the triptych in Bruges begun soon after 1500. Here David takes occasion, now seized upon less and less frequently, to elaborate the terrain in precise detail.

In the middleground are trees, their smooth, cylindrical trunks rising up vertically, their foliage reaching out horizontally. The individual leaves are seen in perspective, scale upon scale. The texture of the rock formation in the middleground is carefully observed. The crinkled and sun-drenched water surface in the foreground is methodically detailed with surprising penetration—wavy rings and a

network of arching streaks of light. Yet what is reflected with such perfection is in essence a static landscape. David seems insensitive to the power of growth in nature, the wellspring of organic life.

The road he traversed was a long one—even that part of it we have been able to trace. His form underwent change, for in this critical age unrest touched even the conservative town of Bruges. The panels from his middle period, like those in the London National Gallery (216, Plate 221 and 219, Plate 223) and in Rouen (215, Plate 218), remind one of brocade—they have the depth, heaviness, density and choice quality of this fabric. By contrast, the late works are bare and chilly in effect, of an empty monumentality, produced in cold-blooded workshop routine. The contrasts between light and shadow, in particular, grow more and more blurred, in favour of naked local coloration. Blues and greys come to dominate. Diffuse light, a pervasive brightness, a worn-away quality—these are marks of the late period. The individual human element that enhances the realism of the early pictures has been sacrificed to idealized beauty and monumentality. David, whose vision originally linked up with that of Jan van Eyck, ended up with empty prettiness and smooth monotony.

The essence of David's art is set by co-ordinates of time and place, as well as by individual endowment, itself coloured by time, place and ethnic origin. There is no possible way in which this complex of forces at work can be unravelled. Even so, its temporal character emerges with some clarity, when we consider the situation beyond the walls of Bruges. Quentin Massys was David's contemporary, a fact of which we tend to lose sight. In many books, David is described as the last figure of the 15th century, Massys as the first of the 16th. By origin and environment, they have nothing in common—the one active in rising Antwerp, full of intellectual ferment, the other in dying Bruges. The marks that emerge as characteristic of the period are a deliberate cultivation of sublimity, obeisance to feminine beauty, and sentiment enhanced to the level of pathos, rising in Massys to the level of sweet sensuality and ecstasy. After Rogier's prickly fanaticism, Hugo van der Goes's vehement struggle for faith, and Memlinc's serene and innocent trust comes an expansion in breadth, a repose in enhanced emotional tension, and, lastly, a revelling in beauty.

We have, then, David as the last member of the old guard, Massys as the first of the new. Yet reasons can be adduced for arguing the reverse order. The new arrived in many shapes. A master may be considered progressive in one respect, or in another. In respect of creative vision, giving shape to three-dimensional bodies and three-dimensional space, David was to a greater degree a man of the Renaissance than Massys. Massys, on the other hand, was a pioneer in invention, in motives, in emotional tone.

Slow-moving and barren of ideas, David's imagination failed to encompass the process of growth. Creative only in picturing the enduring scene, he was neither epic nor dramatic. The events he shows have the effect of ceremonies, of symbolic acts. He shaped his looming, stratified masses like a sculptor, but placed them in the context of light and space like a painter. They are vessels of sentiment, these masses, not of the will.

Supplement to Gerard David

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I have mentioned drawings in the style of Gerard David (see p. 91), notably the sheets that originally constituted a single sketchbook (Plates 228-229), now scattered among the Louvre, the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, the collections of Edmond de Rothschild and the Prince of Liechtenstein, and the Städelisches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt (see Winkler, *Pantheon*, 1929, pp. 274 ff.).

I have noticed meanwhile that one of these delicate metal-point drawings is a sketch for a portrait of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, which I saw on the art market in London. I must now doubt that these drawings are by Gerard David, for the portrait, dating from about 1530, is certainly not by him but by a follower of his who presumably worked in England. This follower must now be considered the possible author of the drawings.

(From Volume XIV)

A small circle (o) indicates additional material from Friedländer's Volume XIV, or, when stated explicitly, from another publication by this author. A small black dot (•), material added by the editors.

The Catalogues

100 CATALOGUE C: THE PAINTINGS OF GERARD DAVID, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT

159. (Plates 161, 162) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Nativity*; left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. Francis*. Friedsam collection, New York (45 × 33—16). The central panel was formerly in the Duc de Galliera collection, and then was lost sight of. By a curious circumstance, it was reunited in New York with the shutters, which came from Genoa, to be sold in the Kaufmann auction at Berlin in 1917 (Nos. 76 and 77). The shutters are in a better state of preservation than the centrepiece. Stylistically, the work is close to the triptych of the Virgin, in the Louvre. The composition of *The Nativity* is rather closely repeated in the breviary of Isabella of Spain (soon before 1497). See p. 91. ○ Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. ● Acc. Nos. 32.100.40 A (Adoration), B (St. John) and C (St. Francis); Michael Friedsam collection; 47.6 × 34.3—45.7 × 16.5 cm.

160. (Plates 163–165) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Nativity*; left, *St. Jerome with a Donor*; right, a donatrix, designated as Catherine by the attribute of the wheel, with a sainted deacon; verso, a landscape, once featuring the figures of Adam and Eve, now overpainted. Private ownership Madrid (about 1 m high). Published by A. L. Mayer in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Issue No. 5/6, 1919/20, pp. 97 f. Of rather late date. Flaking in a few places, otherwise well-preserved 11051. ○ Now in the Bache collection, New York. ● Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. Nos. L. 44.23.20, A, B, Jules S. Bache collection; 89.6 × 71.1—31.4 cm. ○ The versos of the shutters have been separated and are now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. ● On loan to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 843; 90 × 30.5 cm.

161. (Plates 166–169) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Baptism of Christ*; left, Jan de Trompes with a son and St. John the Evangelist; right, the donor's first wife with three daughters and St. Elisabeth; verso right, the Virgin, seated, and opposite her the donor's second wife with one daughter (1061). Academy, Bruges, Nos. 27–31 (132 × 98—43). Weale has written at length about the donor's family in the catalogue of the Academy, 1861, pp. 62 f. Done about 1507, possibly begun earlier, during the lifetime of the first wife († 1502). See p. 80. ● Now in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum), Bruges.

162. (Plates 170, 171) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *Christ Nailed to the Cross*; left, the soldiers; right, the mourners. The centrepiece, from the collection of Sir Henry Layard, is in the National Gallery, London, No. 3067 (48 × 92). The shutters are in the museum at Antwerp, Nos. 179 and 180 (52 × 44 and 50 × 44). Originally they were of the same height as the centrepiece, but they were subsequently added to. On the date and state of preservation, see pp. 83–84.

163. (Plate 172) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Lamentation*; left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Resurrection*; verso, in grisaille, *The Annunciation*. The centre-piece is in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II. No. 328—84 × 62). The shutters are in The Robert Lehman Collection, New York (86 × 28 each), from the R. Kann collection. Bodenhausen, unaware of the connexion between the parts, dated the shutters too early.

a. (Plate 173) Collection of K. Kocherthaler, Madrid (18 × 51). A free, original replica of the centre-piece, without the Magdalene and St. John the Baptist (1071).
 o Now in the collection of O. Reinhart, Winterthur. • Cat. No. 52; 80 × 50 cm.

b. (Plate 173) Church of San Gil, Burgos. A close but mediocre replica of the centre-piece (1081). • 91 × 79.7 cm.

164. (Plate 174) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Lamentation*; left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. Francis*. El Escorial. In a poor state of preservation. Possibly an imitation. Essentially the same composition as in the panel in the Böhler collection, Munich (No. 193).

165. (Plates 175, 176) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Virgin Enthroned*; left, *St. John the Baptist with a Donor*; right, *St. John The Evangelist with a Donatrix*; verso, *Adam and Eve*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2202b (97 × 70—31). See pp. 86-87 for the dating. The donor has been identified from the arms as Jan de Sedano.

a. (Plate 177) Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, No. 78 (95 × 75). The figure of the Virgin is repeated, with music-making angels inserted, after the Ghent altarpiece. In the mature style of David, but rather weak for this master (1091).

b. (Plate 177) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 329 (94 × 63.5). The centre-piece reversed. Somewhat later in style, but probably an original replica.

c. (Plate 177) L. Koppel collection, Berlin. The Virgin is shown at half-length. Probably an original replica. • Now in the L. H. P. Klotz collection, New York.

166. (Plates 178-180) *Altarpiece of St. Michael*: Centre, the archangel struggling with demons; left, *St. Jerome*; right, *St. Anthony of Padua*; verso, *St. Sebastian*, a female saint with a boy (1110). Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 626 (66 × 53—22). Parts of the work are in a poor state of preservation. Done about 1515. The centre-piece agrees in composition with a minor engraving (reversed), presumably a copy from another engraving that may have been used by David (Passavant, II, 91, 46). • Inv. No. 4056 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

167. (Plates 181-183) *Altarpiece of St. Anne*: Centre, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne, Enthroned*; left, *St. Nicholas*; right *St. Anthony of Padua*. Widener collection, Philadelphia (235 × 97—35). From the collections of Cardinal Despuig, Palma and de Somzée, Brussels. Six panels from the same collections, now in the collection of Lady Wantage, Lockinge House (53 × 31 each), may have formed the predella for this altarpiece. They show scenes from the legends of Sts. Nicholas and Anthony (1111). Done during the middle period. See the detailed descriptions in the catalogue of the Wantage collection, London, 1902, pp. 180 ff. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, Cat. No. 613; 239 × 96.5—71 cm. The predella (?)

panels—56 × 34 cm each—are now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (three scenes with the legend of St. Nicholas) and in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (three scenes with the legend of St. Anthony of Padua).

168. (Plate 184) *Diptych: Christ with the Virgin, at Half-Length; The Virgin with Two Angels*. Van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels (12.5 × 9 each). From the B Garriga collection, Paris. • Now in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, Basle; Inv. Nos. 1958.15 and 1958.16; 11.5 × 9 cm each.

169. (Plate 184) *Diptych: Christ with the Virgin, at Half-Length; Virgin and Child*. National Museum, Munich, Nos. 547/8 (9.7 × 7.5 each). The composition agrees with No. 168 (112). • Now exhibited in the Pinakothek, Munich. • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Inv. Nos. 1079 and 1080.

170. (Plate 185) *Diptych: Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. D 28—2 (Altman collection—15 × 12.5, rounded at the top); *Virgin and Child*. O.H. Kahn collection, New York. • *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, Acc. No. 14.40.636; 15.6 × 12.1 cm. *Virgin and Child*, now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury; 15.7 × 11.8 cm.

171. (Plates 185) *Four Panels: Sts. Christopher, Francis, Jerome and Anthony*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (J. Simon collection), No. S 17 (26 × 18 each). In part sharply cleaned. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

172. (Plates 186, 187) *Three Panels from an Altarpiece: The Virgin Enthroned; St. Jerome; a sainted abbot* (113). Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, No. 12 (the first one 151 × 87, the other two 148 × 61 each, the wider central panel squared off at the top, the side panels rounded). From the della Cervara Abbey near Genoa. About 1511 (114).

173. (Plates 186, 188) *The Annunciation*, on two shutters. Hohenzollern collection, Sigmaringen (76 × 62 each). From the Weyer collection, Cologne. Well-preserved. As seen from the lines of perspective in the floor-tiling, the two panels were not certainly meant to abut (115). Done at a late period. • Now in private hands in America. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Mary S. Harkness collection; Acc. No. 50.145.9; 76 × 62 cm.

174. (Plate 189) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. Jerome; St. Augustine*. C. Castiglioni collection, Vienna. Present whereabouts unknown. Somewhat overcleaned. • Auctioned by Graupe, Berlin, in 1930, subsequently on the Berlin art market (van Diemen). • Sold at Sotheby's, London, 24th June 1964, Lot 14; 51 × 17.5 cm.

175. (Plate 189) *The Annunciation*. Museum, Detroit (33 × 22). A rather early work. • Detroit Institute of Arts, Inv. No. 27.201.

176. (Plate 189) *The Annunciation*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 110 (40 × 33). • Inv. No. 1095.
177. (Plate 190) *The Nativity*. Museum, Budapest, No. 696 (77 × 56). From the Nieuwenhuys and Spitzer collections. Well-preserved 11161. On the date of origin, see p. 85. • Inv. No. 1336.
178. (Plate 190) *The Nativity*. Von Pannwitz collection, Hartekamp, near Haarlem, No. 15 (catalogue of the Bruckmann collection, Munich, 1926—85 × 59). From the Kaufmann collection (Berlin auction of 1917, No. 78). On date of origin, see p. 85. • Now in the Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; Acc. No. 58.320 (Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Collection).
179. (Plate 190) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 708 (93 × 79). Water colour on canvas. Hard to classify, on account of the unusual technique. Done somewhat earlier than the Brussels *Adoration*.
180. (Plate 191) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Museum, Brussels, No. 191 (84 × 68). Thickly and unevenly varnished. Done about 1498 11171.
a. Collection of Dr. Figdor, Vienna. A copy dating back to about 1530. • Subsequently on the art market in Dieren (Katz).
181. (Plate 192) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 118 (121 × 164). After van der Goes (see my Vol. IV, p. 38 and Plate 34). The faces of the Virgin and Child have been completely worked over, otherwise well-preserved. This composition is repeated in part in the breviary of Isabella of Spain (British Museum, London), in a miniature Winkler regards as David's work (shortly before 1497; Plate 192) 11181.
182. (Plate 193) *The Adoration of the Magi*. National Gallery, London, No. 1079 (58 × 51). A particularly pleasing achievement of the late period.
a. Private ownership, Spain. A close copy—a workshop product.
183. (Plate 194) *The Marriage at Cana*. Louvre, Paris, No. 1957 (96 × 128). The donor, Jan de Sedano, is here shown about ten years older than in the *Altarpiece of the Virgin* (No. 165). Done soon after 1503, the year when Jan de Sedano joined the Confraternity of the Holy Blood 11191.
a. Metzl collection, Berlin. A free replica by an imitator. • Later on the New York art market, present location unknown.
b. (Plate 194) Museum, Stockholm, No. 422 (99 × 106). Without the donor couple 11201.
184. (Plate 195) *The Transfiguration*. Church of Notre-Dame, Bruges (174 × 120). A rather feeble work of the late period. Bodenhausen notes this qualitative decline (as he does in others cases) and concludes that students helped with this work.

185. (Plate 196) *The Crucifixion*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 573 (141 × 100, rounded at the top). Done at a late period, see p. 90. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

186. (Plate 197) *The Crucifixion*. Schloss Rohoncz, Burgenland (88 × 56). From the Convent of St. Florian on the Danube. After Jan van Eyck—see pp. 84–85. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Castagnola.

187. (Plate 198) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene*. Barnes collection, Philadelphia (65.5 × 49). After Rogier (Vienna altarpiece). See p. 84. • Now in The Barnes Foundation, Merion Station, Pa.

188. (Plate 198) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene*. K. Kocherthaler collection, Madrid (50 × 34). The Magdalene after Rogier (Vienna altarpiece). Of early date, see p. 84 [121]. • Now in the collection of O. Reinhart, Winterthur. • Cat. No. 53; 49.5 × 32.5 cm.

189. (Plate 199) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John*. Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, No. 19 (102 × 89). See p. 90.

190. (Plate 198) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John, the Magdalene and St. Jerome*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. D 28—1 (52.5 × 37.5). • No. 09.157, Rogers Fund.

191. *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene*.

a. Art market, Berlin (70 × 50). Copy of a lost composition of David. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 198) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue 11, No. 395; 29 × 17.5). A late, mediocre copy, with changes.

192. (Plate 200) *The Deposition*. Frick Collection, New York, on canvas (to which it was presumably transferred—140 × 114). From the collections of the King of The Netherlands, Dingwall and Driver. A major work of the later period [122]. • Now in The Frick Collection, New York, Cat. No. 33.

a. (Plate 200) Uffizi, Florence, No. 846 (21 × 14, rounded at the top). Apparently an original replica, showing only part of the composition [123].

b. (Plate 200) Carvalho collection, Paris. Present whereabouts unknown. An imitation, of only part of the composition [124]. • Later in the Laurent Meeus collection, Brussels. Present location unknown. 37 × 27 cm, rounded at the top.

193. (Plate 200) *The Lamentation*. J. Böhler collection, Munich (49 × 57). From the middle period. • In 1935, in the possession of the art dealer T. Harris, London. Present whereabouts unknown; 57 × 49 cm.

194. (Plate 201) *The Lamentation*. National Gallery, London, No. 1078 (62 × 61). Of late origin. See p. 90.

a. (Plate 201) The Hermitage, Leningrad. Section with the heads of Christ and the Virgin. A workshop copy. • Cat. No. 402; 16.2 × 11.4 cm.

b. (Plate 201) Fondi auction, Rome 11251, No. 245 (11 × 19). Like a, but with the head of St. John added. An imitation. • Present whereabouts unknown.

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195. (Plate 202) *The Lamentation*. Von Nemes collection, Munich (56 × 63). Present whereabouts unknown. Formerly in the collections of Cardinal Despuig, Palma, Countess de Béarn, Paris, and W. Gay, Paris 11261. The Magdalene exactly as in the *Lamentation* in the John G. Johnson Collection (No. 163). • The Art Institute, Chicago, Inv. No. 33.1040, Martin A. Ryerson collection.

a. (Plate 202) De Jado collection, Bilbao (47 × 33). A weaker replica, with marked changes, by another hand. • Now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Bilbao.

196. (Plate 203) *The Tree of Jesse*, family tree of the Virgin. Museum, Lyons (118 × 69). After the engraving by the Master W with the Key (B 13). (Plate 202). Possibly there was a common model for both the painting and the engraving.

197. (Plate 204) *The Virgin with the Body of Christ*. Kröller collection, The Hague (33 × 33). Formerly in the von Kaufmann collection, No. 79 in the Berlin auction of 1917). Similar to No. 163 in composition. In the late style and rather insipid. • Now in the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo, Inv. No. 90; 33.8 × 34.2 cm.

a. (Plate 204) Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 1912). With a clerical donor. A free imitation. • Now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, No. 1642; 21.6 × 27.3 cm.

198. (Plate 204) *Christ, Standing*. Museum, Dublin, No. 13 (116 × 60). The inscription, *Vale mea...mater...*, suggests that the opposite wing depicted the Virgin 11271. From the middle period.

199. (Plate 205) *The Countenance of Christ*, on the veil of St. Veronica. In private ownership, Mülheim-on-Rhine. Possibly a workshop replica 11281. • Now in Wiesbaden, Heinemann Gallery; 29.8 × 41.9 cm.

200. (Plate 205) *Christ, at Bust-Length*, seen head-on, the hands showing. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 330; 43 × 31). The head is much restored.

201. (Plate 205) *Head of Christ*, seen head-on. C. Vallin collection, Barcelona (rounded at the top 11291. • Now in the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 30 × 22.5 cm.

202. (Plates 186, 188) *The Almighty with a Pair of Angels*. Lunette. Louvre, Paris (43.5 × 84.5). From the collection of Baron Schickler, Paris. Well-preserved. Middle period 11301. • Cat. No. 4015, Inv. No. R.F. 2228.

203. (Plate 206) *The Virgin with the Body of Christ*. Volz collection, The Hague (20 × 18) (1311). • Now in the H. A. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam.

a. (Plate 206) E. Pacully collection, Nice (20 × 18). A good replica (1321). • Now in a private collection, Brussels.

b. (Plate 206) Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 1913; 20.1 × 18.5). A good replica. • Now in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia; Inv. No. 54, 20 × 18.4 cm.

c. (Plate 206) Pilar Lacalle collection, Granada. • Pilar de Lacalle Arroyo collection; 20 × 17.5 cm.

d. Art market, Munich (A.S. Drey, 1920—17.5 × 16.5). An imitation. • Sold with the Untermeyer collection, at Parke Bernet's, New York, 10th May 1940, Lot 43, bought by W. L. Jones. Present location unknown.

e. Cremer collection, Dortmund (31.5 × 25.5). An imitation. • Sold with the Cremer collection, at Wertheim's, Berlin, 29th May 1929, Lot 20. Present location unknown.

f. Maurer auction, Munich, 1905 (22 × 19). An imitation. • Sold with the Coray Stoop collection, Lucerne, 29th July 1925, Lot 40; 23 × 18 cm. Present location unknown.

204. (Plate 207) *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Private collection, Hamburg (49.5 × 38). From the middle period. • Later in the possession of the art dealer Goudstikker, Amsterdam; since then apparently with the art dealer Matthiesen, London; present location unknown.

205. (Plate 207) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Lázaro collection, Madrid (44 × 31). From the R. Traumann collection, Madrid. On this widely used composition, presumably going back to Rogier, see my Vol. II, No. 109 (1331). • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

206. (Plate 208) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Von Pannwitz collection, Hartekamp, near Haarlem, No. 16 (Catalogue of the Bruckmann collection, Munich, 1926; 33 × 27.5). From a convent in Toledo, subsequently in the R. Traumann collection, Madrid. The branch with cherries in the Child's hand is a later addition, covering a wooden spoon in the original. This spoon is shown in all the replicas. Otherwise well-preserved. On the date of origin, see p. 89 (1341). • Later with the von Pannwitz collection in Brazil. Where now?

a. (Plate 209) Museum, Brussels, No. 666 (35 × 28). A close replica of nearly equal merit. Not in an impeccable state of preservation.

b. (Plate 210) Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, No. 18 (41 × 32). A close replica of nearly equal merit (1351).

c. (Plate 212) Museum, Strasbourg, No. 53 (1361) (40 × 32, on canvas). A good specimen, by an imitator. The posture of the Child is greatly changed.

d. (Plate 211) Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. 28 s—51 (lent by R. W. de Forest—37.5 × 32.5). A rather insipid workshop replica (1371). • Now in the possession of Duveen, New York. • Now in the Norton Simon Foundation, Fullerton, California.

e. (Plate 212) Hoschek collection, Prague. A coarse copy, with the figure of St. Joseph added. • Present whereabouts unknown.

207. (Plate 213) *Virgin and Child, at Knee-Length*. Iglesia del Sacro Monte, Granada (43 × 34). The landscape is constructed along similar lines as in No. 209. Done rather late, judging from the type of the Virgin.

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a. (Plate 212) Philadelphia, Barnes collection. Free repetition on dark, neutral ground. The Virgin holds an apple instead of a rose. • Now in The Barnes Foundation, Merion Station, Pa.

208. (Plate 214) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Langaard collection, Oslo (42 × 28). Mad. H. auction, Paris, 1914. • Now in the National Gallery, Oslo.

209. (Plate 214) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 573a (42 × 35.5). Acquired from Spain. Well-preserved. Of rather early origin. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 214) Art market, Paris (1920; 43 × 30). A weak imitation.

210. (Plate 214) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. National Gallery, London, No. 3066 (32 × 21—see my Vol. IV, No. 27, Pl. 39 and p. 73). This Madonna from the H. Layard collection displays a curious mixture of styles, which seems to me most plausibly explained on the assumption that David was copying van der Goes.

211. (Vol. II, No. 70b, Plate 98) *The Virgin Giving Suck to the Child*, tondo. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia 11381 (Catalogue II, No. 331; 20.5 in diameter).

212. (Plate 215) *Virgin and Child, Seated Outdoors*. Prado, Madrid (P. Bosch collection—59 × 40). From a convent in Navarre 11391.

a. (Plate 215) London, collection of Mrs. Frank Stoop (50 × 34). A close replica of equal merit. • Now in the Bache collection, New York. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. L 44.23.21, Jules S. Bache collection; 50.8 × 43.2 cm.

b. (Plate 215) Museum, Antwerp, No. 47 (79 × 56). A weak replica, in the style of Adriaen Isenbrant 11401.

c. (Plate 215) Friedsam collection, New York (28 × 21). The Virgin shown at half-length. An excellent imitation, with a strange landscape. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 32.100.53, Michael Friedsam collection.

d. (Plate 215) Art market, Berlin. The Virgin, at half-length. An imitation.

213. (Plate 216) *Virgin and Child, Seated Outdoors*. Von Nemes collection, Munich (Paris auction of 1913, present whereabouts unknown—42.5 × 26). From the Carmelite convent at Salamanca. The same composition, showing the Virgin to only the knee, appears in a miniature, formerly in the Willett collection, Brighton, which Weale maintains is the work of David's wife (Plate 216) • The picture from the von Nemes collection is now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotter-

dam, Inv. No. 2446. The miniature from the Willett collection is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas, Cat. No. 31, E. A. and P. S. Straus collection; 24.4 × 18.1 cm.

214. (Plate 217) *Virgin and Child, Seated Outdoors*. Morgan Library, New York (41 × 41). From the R. Kann collection. Of late date. • Now in the Mellon Foundation, Washington. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, No. 43, Mellon collection; 44 × 44 cm.

a. (Plate 216) Museum, Lisbon (62 × 41.5). A free workshop replica.

b. (Plate 216) A.J. Barton collection, Oxford (59 × 48.5). An imitation by another hand.

c. Collection of the Marqués de Pilar, Granada. The Virgin shown only to the knee. An imitation (1141).

d. Art market, New York. Formerly in the possession of Prince Jaime de Bourbon. Curved at the top. A good imitation in the style of Isenbrant (1142) • Now in The Robert Lehman Collection, New York.

e. Museum, Dublin, No. 498 (36 × 30). A good imitation in the style of Isenbrant (1143).

215. (Plates 218—220 and 270) *The Virgin Enthroned with Female Saints*. Museum, Rouen (120 × 213). Authenticated by documentary evidence. Done in 1511. A donation of the painter. See p. 79.

216. (Plate 221) *The Betrothal of St. Catherine*. National Gallery, London, No. 1432 (104 × 144). Done between 1501 and 1511 for the Church of St. Donatian in Bruges, commissioned by Richard van der Capelle. See p. 80.

217. (Plate 222) *Virgin and Child*, standing between two music-making angels. M. Epstein collection, Chicago (54 × 41). After the Master of Flémalle (see my Vol. II, No. 74). • Now in the Mrs. Lucile E. Selz collection, New York.

218. (Plate 222) *The Holy Family, at Half-Length*. Paris, Martin Leroy collection (1144) (41 × 30). Of rather late date. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 222) Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (W. Clemens collection—47 × 38). A close replica.

b. Museum, Schleissheim, No. 3024 (54 × 41). An imitation in the style of Isenbrant (1145). • Inv. No. 1128.

219. (Plate 223) *Bernardino de Salviatis with Sts. Bernardin, Martin and Donatian*. National Gallery, London, No. 1045 (102 × 93). Left shutter of an altarpiece dedicated to St. John the Baptist and the Magdalene, in the Church of St. Donatian in Bruges. Commissioned by Bernardino de Salviatis in 1501. See p. 80.

220. (Plate 226) *St. Jerome*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 108 (31 × 21). The face somewhat overcleaned, otherwise reasonably well-preserved. Done about 1505.

221. (Plate 226) *St. Jerome*. National Gallery, London, No. 2596 (34 × 24). From the Somzée and Salting collections. On the date of origin, see p. 87.
222. (Plates 224, 225) *The Two Justice Panels*. Municipal museum, Bruges (182 × 159 each). From the Bruges Stadhuis. Dated 1498 (1461). See pp. 77-78.
223. (Plate 226) *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic*. National Gallery, London, No. 710 (34 × 26). From the Öttingen-Wallerstein collection.
224. (Plate 227) *Portrait of a Goldsmith*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 628 (29 × 22). The face is overcleaned. Probably correctly ascribed to the master, judging from the form of the hands.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

HANS MEMLING

Supp. 225. (Plate 49) The panel with the *Mourning Women*, the original of the ancient copy at Schleissheim (No. 13b), has turned up in private hands in Paris and is now on the Paris art market (Wildenstein). • Now in the Museu de Arte, São Paulo; 54 × 39 cm.

Supp. 226. (Plate 231) *The Virgin Giving Suck to the Child*, at half-length. Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio (33 × 23.5). Free after Rogier van der Weyden. • Museum of Art, Holden collection, No. 34.29.

Supp. 227. (Plate 231) *The Virgin at Half-Length*, with two music-making angels. Art market, Paris (Duveen, 1934). • 36.5 × 26.5 cm. Present location unknown.

Supp. 228. (Plate 232) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: The donor, Francisco de Royas. Art market, London (Knoedler). Exhibited in the museum at Rotterdam, 1936. • Now in a private collection, U. S. A.; 107 × 52 cm. Portrait of a girl, a fragment of the pendant shutter. Art market, Paris (Duveen—36 × 28.5). • Now in a private collection, Paris.

Supp. 229. (Plate 90) *Christ Giving the Blessing*, bust-length, head-on. Collection of the Marquesa de Arguso, Madrid (45 × 35) (1471). • Now in the William A. Coolidge collection, Topsfield, Massachusetts.

Supp. 230. (Plate 235) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Collection of Sir H. Cook, Richmond. Sharply overcleaned. • Present whereabouts unknown.

Supp. 231. (Plate 233) *Portrait of a Man*. Collection of Baron van der Elst, Vienna (32 × 23). • Now in The Frick Collection, New York.

Supp. 232. (Plate 234) *Portrait of a Man*, one-half of a diptych; verso, a still life with a flower vase and a rug. Collection of the Duchess of Montrose, Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran, Scotland (28 × 21). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Castagnola.

Supp. 233. (Plate 235) *Portrait of a Man*. W. Goldman collection, New York, formerly in the Vieweg collection, Brunswick. Unusual in its vigorous modelling, probably from the master's early period. • Now in the Collection of the Fine Arts Society of San Diego, San Diego, California, Acc. No. 47.1; 30.5 × 21.5 cm.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. URSULA

Supp. 234. (Plate 236) *The Virgin Enthroned*, with two angels. Collection of Sir Edgar Speyer (†), New York (63 × 35). • Now in The Memorial Art Gallery, Marion Stratton Gould Fund, Rochester, New York; Inv. No. 48.11.

Supp. 235. (Plate 144) *The Virgin, at Half-Length*, with two angels. Schlayer collection, Madrid (33 × 24). Identical with No. 156, erroneously ascribed to the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy (1481). • Now in the County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, Acc. No. 2100.44-1077.

Supp. 236. (Plate 237) *The Virgin with Four Saints*, full-length. New York, collection of Mrs. Schulte, from the Mège collection, Paris (71 × 95). • Now in the Mrs. Harris Jonas collection, New York.

Supp. 237. (Plate 237) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length. Tietje collection, Amsterdam (22.5 × 11.5). • Now in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 24.3 × 16 cm.

Supp. 238. (Plate 237) *Christ on the Cross*, with a donor. Art market, Paris (Bottenwieser). Identical with No. 145, on the Amsterdam art market in 1927 and erroneously ascribed to the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. • Now in the Barber Institute, The University, Birmingham, 43 × 33 cm.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. LUCY

Supp. 239. (Plate 238) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Lamentation* (after Dieric Bouts) (1491; shutters, the donor with St. Donatian, the donatrix with St. Adrian (1501). Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Lugano (Castagnola). From the Spiridon collection, Paris.

Supp. 240. (Plate 239) *The Magdalene*. Art market, London (Koetser, 1936; 66 × 24). Pendant to No. 157. • Sold with the N. O. Tomalin collection, at Sotheby's, London, 20th November 1957, Lot 76, bought by Farquharson: 69.2 × 26.7 cm.

Supp. 241. (Plate 239) *St. Jerome Outdoors*. Collection of Viscount Bearsted, Lon-

don. • Now in the Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House, Banbury.

Supp. 242. (Plate 239) *St. Jerome Outdoors*. H. Lund collection, Oslo (58 × 43.5).

Supp. 243. (Plate 239) *St. Jerome Outdoors*, knee-length. Possibly a fragment (1151). Art market, Paris (Dr. Wendland). From Genoa. • Now in the Cramer Gallery, The Hague, Cat. 1968, No. 42; 46 × 33.5 cm.

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THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. AUGUSTINE (see p. 44)

Supp. 244. (Plates 240, 241) *Altarpiece of the Legend of St. Augustine*. Erickson collection, New York. Inside of right shutter, Museum, Dublin. Fragment from the verso of one of the shutters, Museum, Aachen. • The Erickson panel is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, New York; Acc. No. 61.199; 130 × 153 cm. The right shutter, in the National Gallery of Ireland, with the Death of St. Augustine, measures 136 × 65 cm; Cat. No. 823. The fragment, with St. Augustine and St. Paul, in the Suermondt-Museum, Aachen, No. 303, measures 99 × 66.5 cm.

Supp. 245. (Plate 242) *Episcopal Saint Enthroned* (1152). Museum, Bruges. • Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groninger Museum, No. 213 bis; 99.9 × 80.4 cm.

THE MASTER OF SAN LORENZO DELLA COSTA (see p. 44)

Supp. 246. (Plates 243-246) *Altarpiece with the Raising of Lazarus* (1153). San Lorenzo on the Riviera. • Parish Church of San Lorenzo della Costa, Santa Margherita Ligure; each panel, 150 × 92 cm.

THE MASTER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (see p. 44)

Supp. 247. (Plates 247, 248) *Altarpiece of St. John the Evangelist*. Palazzo Bianco Genoa (1154). • The four panels measure, each, 120 × 88 cm.

Supp. 248. *Two Shutters with Saints*. Collection of the late musicologist Max Friedländer, Berlin. • Present location unknown.

Supp. 249. (Plate 248) *Crucifixion*. Art market, Berlin, 1934. • Present location unknown.

THE MASTER OF THE TURIN ADORATION (see p. 44)

Supp. 250. (Plate 249) *Adoration of the Magi*. Galleria Sabauda, Turin (1155). • Inv. No. 309; 154 × 213 cm.

Supp. 251. (Plate 250) *The Lamentation*. Collection of Hulin de Loo, Ghent. • Now in the Stichting Collectie P. en N. de Boer, Amsterdam; 43.5 × 34.5 cm.

Supp. 252. (Plate 251) *Virgin and Child, Seated Outdoors*. Art market, Berlin (Benedict, 1929) 11561. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Lillian S. Timken Bequest, Acc. No. 60.71.28; 43.3 × 35.9 cm.

Supp. 253. (Plate 251) *Altarpiece with Shutters: The Deposition*. Art market, Vienna. From Portugal (215 × 275 overall) 11571. • Now in the Museu de Arte Sacra, Junta Autónoma do Funchal, Island of Madeira; 203 × 125—56 cm.

Supp. 254. (Plate 252) *The Virgin with Four Saints* (158), and crowning angels. Art market, Paris (Duveen—69 × 52). • Now in the County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California; 71.5 × 54.7 cm.

(From Volume XIV)

ADDENDA

• Add. 255. (Plate 253) *Christ at the Column of the Flagellation*. Barcelona, Dr. Miguel Mateu collection, 51 × 26.5 cm. Memlinc. Cf. [H. Pauwels], *L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Espagnoles. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Groeninge—Bruges. Juillet-Août 1958*, Bruges, 1958, pp. 32-33, No. 7; G. T. Fagg, *L'Opera Completa di Memling*, Milan, 1969, p. 102, No. 43.

• Add. 256. (Plate 253) *Man of Sorrows*. Esztergom (Hungary), Kereszteny Museum, Inv. No. 55.345; 13 × 10 cm, curved at the top. Memlinc (? best version of a lost original?). Cf. M. Boskovits, M. Mojzer and A. Mucsi, *Christian Art in Hungary. Collections from the Esztergom Christian Museum*, Budapest, 1965, p. 150 (colour plate p. 151); Fagg, *L'Opera Completa...*, p. 103, No. 54.

• Add. 257. (Plate 253) *St. Jerome and the Lion*. Zurich, private collection (1955), 37.5 × 24.8 cm, fragment? Memlinc. Cf. G. Ring, 'St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot', in *The Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 188-194; M. J. Friedländer, 'Memlinc' (*Palet Serie*), Amsterdam, [1949], pp. 6-7.

• Add. 258. (Plate 253) *Portrait of a Man*. Great Britain, B. S. Barlow collection, 21.6 × 19 cm, oval, fragment. Memlinc. Cf. *Flemish Art 1300-1700. Winter Exhibition, 1953-4. Royal Academy of Arts. London*, London, 1953, p. 16, No. 25; Fagg, *L'Opera Completa...*, p. 110, No. 102.

• Add. 259. (Plate 91) *Christ with the Stigmata*. Genoa, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Inv. No. P.B. 1569; 52 × 33 cm. Memlinc, original of No. 40. Cf. C. L. Ragghianti,

Catalogo della Mostra d'Arte Fiammingha e Olandese dei Secoli XV e XVI, Florence, 1948, pp. 24-25, No. 4.

● Add. 260. (Plate 15) *Triptych of the Crucifixion*. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 94 × 69-33 cm. On the reverse of the shutters, traces of damaged grisaille paintings. Memlinc follower, cf. Nos. 3, 3a, and 30. Cf. C. Garas, 'Le Retable du Calvaire de Memling', in *Bulletin du Musée National Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* (Budapest), IX, 1956, pp. 28-36 and 96-100.

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● Add. 261. (Plate 16) *Annunciation*, grisaille. Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum, Nos. 95-1 and 95-2; 82.2 × 26.5 cm. Memlinc, part of the triptych including also Nos. 4A and 4B (1591). Cf. A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. Corpus..., 1), Antwerp, 1959, pp. 104-107.

○ Add. 262. (Plate 125) *Nativity*. Tiverton, Devon, Sir John Heathcoat-Amory collection, 58.4 × 50.1 cm. Memlinc, early work; seems to belong to the same series of panels as Nos. 32, 99A, 99B and 99C. Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Memling' (*Palet Serie*), Amsterdam, (1949), pp. 4, 10-11.

○ Add. 263. (See Vol. II, No. 111, Plate 123) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, Acc. No. 02.3; 24.4 × 16.8 cm. Memlinc, early work after Rogier 11601. Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Noch Etwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling', in *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 14-15; C.T. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. Corpus..., 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 62-65.

● Add. 264. (See Vol. II, No. 41, Plate 64) *Christ Appearing to His Mother*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Cat. No. 45 (1941); 163 × 93 cm. Master of 1473 (?). Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und Seine Schule*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1938, p. 64, No. 15.

● Add. 265. (See Vol. IV, No. 7d) *Triptych with the Lamentation* and a donor from the Loiani family 11611. Genoa, Galleria Durazzo-Pallavicini. Master of the Baroncelli Portraits? (Workshop? freely after Memlinc, cf. No. 13, and van der Goes, cf. Vol. IV, No. 7; the donor portrait is probably original). Cf. Jos. Destree, *Hugo van der Goes*, Brussels, Paris, 1914, pp. 54, 55, Plate facing p. 56. See also Note 8.

● Add. 266. (Plate 254) *Altarpiece of the Annunciation*; left wing, Sts. Jerome, Francis, Bernardin of Siena, Anthony Abbot; right wing, Sts. John the Baptist, Benedict, Michael, Christopher; reverse in grisaille, Sts. Paul and Bernard 11621. London, Convent of the Brompton Oratory, 52 × 52—58 × 28 cm (approximately). Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. G. Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule', in *Jaarboek 1964. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1964, pp. 13 and 34, No. 4.

- Add. 267. (Plate 255) *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels*. Cherbourg, Musée Thomas-Henry, Cat. No. 50; 95 × 79 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula (1631). Cf. Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule...', p. 35, No. 12 and (H. Pauwels, i.a.), *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes. Maîtres aux Noms d'Emprunt des Pays-Bas Méridionaux du xve et du Début du xvie Siècle. Exposition Organisée par la Ville de Bruges au Groeningemuseum. 14 Juin-21 Septembre 1969*, Bruges, 1969, pp. 42 and 200, No. 6.
- Add. 268. (Plate 256) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. New York, Acquavella Gallery (1970), 41 × 27 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. G. Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule...', pp. 12, 13 and 36, No. 19.
- Add. 269. (Plate 256) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length with Two Angels*. Belgium, Private collection, 33 × 24 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. (H. Pauwels, i.a.), *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes...*, Bruges, 1969, pp. 45-46 and 204, No. 11.
- Add. 270. (Plate 255) *St. Michael and a Donatrix*. Bruges, St. John's Hospital, 30 × 19.5 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. (A. Janssens de Bishoven, i.a.) *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes...*, pp. 40 and 198-199, No. 4, and Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule'..., p. 37, No. 24.
- Add. 271. (Plate 255) *Virgin and Child with St. Michael and a Donor*, Geneva, Private collection, 42.8 × 32.3 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. (M. Baes-Dondeyne, i.a.), *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes...*, Bruges, 1969, pp. 41-42 and 199-200, No. 5, and Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule'..., p. 35 No. 11.
- Add. 272. (Plate 255) *Virgin and Child Enthroned*. Present location unknown, formerly Vienna (or Budapest?), A. Spitzer collection, 52 × 36.5 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Photograph in the Archives of the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels.
- Add. 273. (Plate 256) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, The Wernher Collection, 39 × 29.8 cm. Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula. Cf. J. Natanson, i.a., *The Wernher Collection, Medieval and Renaissance Art in the Collection*, 1950, Pl. 111, fig. 3.
- Add. 274. (Plate 255) *Christ on the Cross*. Raleigh, North Carolina, Museum of Art, Cat. No. 121; 45 × 28 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. *North Carolina Museum of Art. Catalogue*, Raleigh, 1956, No. 121, and *Exposition Memling. Organisée par la Ville de Bruges au Musée Communal (22 Juin-1 Octobre 1939)*, Bruges, 1939, p. 66, No. 16.
- Add. 275. (Plate 147) *Portrait of a Man*. Milan, Castello Sforzesco, No. 285; 23 × 18 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule'..., p. 37, No. 26.

- Add. 276. (Plate 256) *Portrait of a Woman with a Pansy*. Present location unknown; sold in London, at Sotheby's, 8th December 1965, Lot 21; 28.5 × 22 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Cf. G. Ring, *A Century of French Painting. 1400-1500*, London, 1949, p. 240, No. 311, and Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule'..., p. 40, No. 54.
- Add. 277. (Plate 257) *Mary Queen of Heaven*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. No. 1096, K. 1689; 216 × 185.5 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection. Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation 1945-1951*, Washington, 1951, pp. 182-183, No. 80.
- Add. 278. (Plates 258-260) *Polyptych of the Virgin Enthroned, with the Confraternity of the Black Heads*. Tallinn, Estonia, Museum of Fine Arts (Kadriorg), 255 × 166—75 cm (1641). Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. N. Verhaegen, 'Un Important Retable du Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie Conservé à Tallinn, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), IV, 1961, pp. 142-154.
- Add. 279. (Plate 261) *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*. Modena, Galleria Estense, Cat. No. 549; 60 × 45 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. (C.L. Ragghianti), *Catalogo della Mostra d'Arte Fiamminga e Olandese dei Secoli XV e XVI*, Florence, 1948, p. 16, No. 12.
- Add. 280. (Plate 242) *Four Scenes from the Legend of St. Nicholas*, forming part of an altarpiece with Supp. 245 (1651). Three panels are in Geneva, private collection; one panel is in Madrid, Marquesa de Arguelles collection, 45 × 53 cm each. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. N. Verhaegen 'Le Maître de la Légende de Ste Lucie. Précisions sur son Œuvre', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), II, 1959, pp. 78-82.
- Add. 281. (Plate 263) *St. Anthony of Padua*. Amsterdam, Dr. and Mrs. H. Wetzlar collection, 68 × 53 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 'La Vierge et l'Enfant au Coussin, d'après Rogier van der Weyden', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XV, 1966, p. 150.
- Add. 282. (Plate 263) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Leningrad, the Hermitage, No. Г.3.9804; 70 × 47.5 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 'La Vierge et l'Enfant au Coussin...', pp. 148-149.
- Add. 283. (Plate 264) *Lamentation with the Instruments of the Passion*. Messina, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. A. 1022; 82 × 68.5 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, damaged. Cf. G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie, 1. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes du Quinzième Siècle*, 3), Brussels, 1958, pp. 40, 41, No. 25.
- Add. 284. (Plate 239) *St. Jerome Doing Penance*. The Hague, Cramer Gallery, Cat.

1968, No. 42; 45 × 32.5 cm (fragment?). Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, in collaboration with the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula 11661. Identical with Supp. 243. Cf. (P. Eeckhout and A. Moerman). *Musée des Beaux-Arts—Gand. Fleurs et Jardins dans l'Art Flamand*, Brussels, 1960, p. 144, No. 177, and Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule' ..., p. 38, No. 36.

o Add. 285 (Plate 262) *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*. Florence, Dott. Paoletti collection, 42 × 34 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, damaged 11671. Cf. Vol. III, No. 88 and Note 70.

● Add. 286. (Plate 262) *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*. Amsterdam, P. de Boer Gallery (1961), 72.5 × 55 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Cf. *Nederlandse Primitieven uit Nederlands Particulier Bezit. 1 Juli-10 September 1961, Singer Museum, Laren (N.H.)*, (Amsterdam), 1961, p. 18, No. 75, and G. Carandente 'Collections d'Italie, I. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes du Quinzième Siècle*, 3) Brussels, 1968, p. 33.

● Add. 287. (Plate 262) *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*. Rome, Pietro Monastero collection in 1929, present location unknown, came from Palermo, Sicily. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, workshop. Cf. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie, I. Sicile' ..., p. 15.

● Add. 288. (Plate 264) *Nativity and Lamentation*, from a series of the Life of Christ. *Nativity*, present location unknown; *Lamentation*, Amsterdam, private collection, 52 × 39 cm each. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, workshop. Cf. Friedländer's Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

o Add. 289. (Plate 265) *Portrait of a Man with a Fur Cap*. Paris, J. Braz auction, at Charpentier's, 12th May 1938, Lot 19. Before 1946 in the possession of an English art dealer; present location unknown, 28.5 × 18.5 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Augustine. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'The Bruges Master of St. Augustine', in *Art in America and Elsewhere*, xxv, 1937, pp. 47-54.

o Add. 290. (Plate 265) *Portrait of a Man with a Skull*. Sibiu, Bruckenthal Gallery, exhibited in Bucharest, National Museum of Fine Arts, 42 × 32 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Augustine. Cf. Friedländer, 'The Bruges Master of St. Augustine' ..., pp. 47-54.

o Add. 291. (Plate 265) *Portrait of a Man with a Black Cap*. Brussels, del Monte collection, 27.5 × 19.2 cm. Master of the Legend of St. Augustine. Cf. Friedländer, 'The Bruges Master of St. Augustine' ..., pp. 47-54.

o Add. 292. (Plate 266) *Altarpiece of the Annunciation*. Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Cat. No. 478; 225 × 230 cm. Master of St. John the Evangelist. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'Drei Niederländische Maler in Genua', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, LXI, 1927-1928, pp. 273 ff.

o Add. 293. (Plate 267) *Mass of St. Peter* (?), Novi Ligure, Coulant-Peloso collection, 268 × 190 cm. Master of St. John the Evangelist. Cf. Friedländer, 'Drei Niederländische Maler...', pp. 275 and 278.

o Add. 294. (Plate 267) *Two Shutters: Nativity and Presentation in the Temple*, Rome, Galleria Nazionale (exhibited at the Palazzo Corsini, 1963), Inv. Nos. 2429 and 2430; 125 × 60 cm each. Master of St. John the Evangelist. Cf. Friedländer, 'Drei Niederländische Maler...', p. 278.

o Add. 295. (Plate 267) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection, No. 338; 95 × 166 cm. Master of the Turin Adoration. Cf. Friedländer, 'Drei Niederländische Maler...', p. 279.

o Add. 296. (Plate 268) *Four Shutters from an Altarpiece with the Legends of Sts. Agnes and Catherine* [168]. Two shutters with a scene from each legend, are in Genoa, Palazzo ex-Reale. Versos, female saints. The two other panels were in Strasbourg, Musées des Beaux-Arts de la Ville, Cat. No. 75 a and b (1938); they were destroyed by fire in 1947. Approximately 79 × 101 cm each. Master of the Turin Adoration. Cf. Friedländer, 'Drei Niederländische Maler...', p. 279.

• Add. 297. (Plate 269) *Christ Showing the Wounds of His Hands*, at bust-length. Greenville, South Carolina, The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings, Cat. No. 120; 47.8 × 35.1 cm. Gerard David. Cf. J. Lavalleye, 'Collections d'Espagne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes des Quinzième et Seizième Siècles*), I, Antwerp, 1953, pp. 9-10, No. 2; (J. Folie, a.o.), *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 191-192, No. 49.

• Add. 298. (Plate 269) *Crucifixion*. Sold at Christie's, London, 21st June 1968, Lot 39; 99 × 75.5 cm. Gerard David, workshop. Cf. (J. Folie, a.o.), *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century; Art and Civilization. Catalogue...*, 1960, pp. 192-194, No. 50.

• Add. 299. (Plate 269) *Virgin and Child in a Grassy Nook, with Sts. Francis and John the Baptist*. Zurich, private collection, came from the Solty collection, Berlin; 65 × 40 cm (curved at the top). Gerard David. Cf. *Musée Communal de Bruges. Gérard David, 18 Juin-21 Août 1949*, Brussels, 1949, p. 20, No. 20; J. G. van Gelder, 'The Gerard David Exhibition at Bruges', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xc1, 1949, p. 254.

A few compositions by Memlinc have been widely repeated. Some, though of earlier origin, such as No. 13, after van der Goes, and No. 37, after Rogier, seem to have reached the peak of their success after having passed through Memlinc's hands. No. 9, *Virgin Enthroned with Angel and Donor* (some)
No. 13, Diptych with *Deposition* and *Mourners*, after van der Goes (a few panels preserved separately)

No. 37, *Virgin at Half-Length with the Body of Christ*, probably after Rogier (some)

No. 40, *Christ with the Stigmata* (a few; see also Add. 259)

No. 41, *Mater Dolorosa*, after Rogier (rather numerous)

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The Master of the St. Lucy Legend, apparently inspired by Bouts, has spread a successful composition:

Nos. 146, 147, *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*, after Bouts (some, cf. Vol. III, No. 93 and Note 73)

In Gerard David's workshop, as well as among his Bruges followers, some compositions were repeatedly used:

No. 163, *Lamentation*, after Rogier (a few)

No. 192, *Deposition* (some; a number of versions at bust-length)

No. 203, *Virgin with the Dead Christ*, at bust-length (quite numerous, especially in Spain; cf. Vol. XII, No. 23) 11691.

No. 212, *Virgin and Child Seated Outdoors* (rather numerous; some versions at bust-length)

No. 214, *Virgin and Child Seated Outdoors* (some; cf. Vol. XI, No. 183)

Editor's Note

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Very few thoroughgoing studies of Memlinc have been published since 1937. Until fairly recently, a kind of critical apathy about him prevailed, not unmingled with a certain blasé intolerance. He was appreciated, in a sentimental rather than a reasoned way, chiefly by those who, seduced by the unique charm of Bruges, identified the painter with the town of his adoption (170). The exhibition dedicated to Memlinc in 1939 in the Groeninge Museum at Bruges was held in this spirit (171). The Second World War, unfortunately, kept it from being widely commented on. Friedländer and other scholars, however, did find occasion for brief comment (172). Thus the important discovery by Parmentier of a text in the Bruges *Poortenboeken*, revealing Memlinc's birthplace, Seligenstadt, and the date of his inscription as a citizen (*poorter*) of Bruges in 1465, then attracted general attention (173). Friedländer concluded that Memlinc had very probably left Brussels soon after Rogier's death (1464), and that he may have worked in Rogier's studio as a journeyman (*geselle*) since 1460. Friedländer had developed his idea as long ago as 1940, but his article was published only after the war (174). He pointed particularly to two *Madonnas*, one in the Brussels Museum (Vol. II, No. 108a), the other in the Boston Museum (Add. 263), which he ascribed to the youthful Memlinc, under the influence of Rogier. In a monograph published in 1949, Friedländer reverted to Rogier's influence on the young Memlinc, this time devoting his attention to the series of panels, *The Childhood of Jesus*, Nos. 32, 99A, 99B, 99C and Add. 262 (175). In his *Essays* of 1947, Friedländer studied Memlinc's role in the evolution of landscape, portrait and religious art (176). Lastly, in 1950, he stressed the influence of van der Goes, exemplified in the Granada diptych with the *Lamentation* (No. 13) and the *Virgin at Luton Hoo* (No. 48) (177).

The most important monographs on Memlinc published since 1937, with detailed catalogues and many illustrations, are those by Baldass (178) and Faggini (179).

We should also mention some studies on particular points in the context of more general researches. Four references in the Bruges archives to Memlinc as a member of the Confraternity of Our-Lady-of-the-Snow (*Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Ter-Sneeuw*), were cited by Schoutheet (180). Sosson traced the history of the Bruges paintings (Nos. 2, 5, 11, 12, 14 and 24) through the 19th century as reflected in contemporary documents (181). Selecting the authenticated works as a permanent basis for the study of attributions, Folie retained, for Memlinc, only the *Floreins Triptych* (No. 2) and the *St. John Altarpiece* (No. 11) (182). A complete dossier of 14 Memlinc works of varying importance has been published as part of the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands*, in essays by Janssens de Bisthoven (No. 12 and Add. 261) (183), Aru and Geradon (No. 34) (184), Davies (Nos. 10, 19, 47, 63, and 78) (185), Eisler (Add. 263) (186), Van Schoute (Nos. 13, 30, 37a and 55) (187) and Białostocki (No. 8) (188). Coremans, Sneyers and Thissen (No. 11) (189), Trigo de Sousa (No. 49) (190) and Janssens de Bisthoven (Add. 261) (191), among others, have commented on some technical examinations and treatments, apart from the *Corpus*. Goerge (192) offered

some interesting comments on the darkening of the blue tints in the mantle of the Virgin in the Lübeck *Crucifixion* (No. 3). A few separate studies of major paintings have also been published since 1937: on the Lübeck *Altarpiece of the Passion* (No. 3), by Heise (193), Gräbke (194) and Hasse (195), and on other versions of this *Crucifixion* by Garas (1961); and on the Danzig altarpiece (No. 8), by Drost (1971). The sitter of the *Portrait of a Man* (No. 72) has been identified by Van Molle as Gilles Joye, canon and musician at the ducal court (1981). Białostocki has proposed Angelo Tani as the sitter for one of the Uffizi portraits (No. 89) (1991). Pope-Hennessy has commented briefly on Memlinc's portraits in relation to the Italian Renaissance (2001), while some aspects of Memlinc's Italian patrons have been studied by De Roover (2011). Ring has stressed the painter's relation with Rogier van der Weyden by publishing an unknown *St. Jerome* (Add. 257), obviously inspired by the Brussels master (2021). A relationship between Grünewald and Memlinc has been proposed by Feigel (2031).

On the whole, it is iconographical points that have attracted the greatest attention. Denis (204) studied the influence of mystery plays on some of Memlinc's compositions, and Birkmeyer the use of the arch motif in several of his works (Nos. 2, 7, 60) (2051). The rare iconographical theme of *Bathsheba*, in Stuttgart (No. 25), has been commented upon by Held (2061), Röthel (2071) and Kunoth-Leifels (2081); Musper thinks this the right shutter of a triptych on the theme of Justice (2091). Music plays an important part in Memlinc's compositions, and some of his works have been studied along these lines (2101). Other works by Memlinc have been included by Blum in her inquiry on triptychs and patronage (2111). Behling has studied Memlinc's representation of plants (2121) and Philippot, his grisailles and their meaning (2131), while Michiels (2141), Steppe (2151), Verle (2161) and Devliegher (2171) have examined the Bruges scenes and monuments that appear in the painter's work.

Two recent discoveries are bound to have a bearing on what art historians think of Memlinc. The first concerns his original underdrawing, revealed through infrared photography in the case of the two masterpieces, the *Mystic Marriage* at the St. John's Hospital in Bruges (No. 11) and the *Last Judgment* in Danzig (No. 8). They bespeak a surprising aspect of Memlinc's personality. His drawing is nervous and impulsive. He corrects himself often, conceives a form, abandons it, comes back to it, and may finish it only at the stage of painting. His rendering of volume is expansive and tends to overflow the forms originally envisaged. Above all, Memlinc carefully concealed every trace of effort, achieving the exterior perfection that lies at the heart of his reputation as a cold and academic painter. Białostocki has carefully traced this process in Memlinc's *Last Judgment* (2181) and it is also touched upon, in the case of the *Mystic Marriage*, in an article by Corenians, Sneyers and Thissen (2191).

The second discovery affects the chronology of Memlinc's work. Weale dated the Donne triptych (No. 10) before 1469, the year in which the owner, Sir John Donne, was said to have been killed at the Battle of Edgecote. No one has questioned this date, except Davies, who recently concluded that the picture may have been painted much later, since the donor did not in fact die until 1503 (2201). As for the birthdates of the donor's children—only one daughter appears in the triptych—they are not known with sufficient precision. Davies inclines to date the picture

some years after 1470. In any case, the idea that Memlinc's style had fully matured before 1469 has lost validity.

The appreciation of Memlinc's art, as we said at the beginning, has undergone extreme variations. Celebrated in 1902, he scored a success in 1939, that was largely sentimental in nature. True, Friedländer who had touchingly described him as a 'Flower without thorns' (221), was not to modify his reactions in 1939 in any way. 'As a whole', he said, 'this exhibition offers more in enjoyment and the confirmation of familiar ideas than in new experiences' (222). In his monograph of 1949 too he voiced no new opinions on the subject, but rested content to reiterate those already set down in *Early Netherlandish Painting*. He did, however, add a brief essay entitled 'Judgments of Memlinc's Art' (*Het Oordeel over Memling's Kunst*), in which he calls those who praised Memlinc with devout enthusiasm in the 19th century romantics in whom the spirit of humanism had kept certain classic prejudices alive. At the very end of the 19th century views on art and art itself changed profoundly. The accent shifted to the creative element and Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes came to the fore, to the detriment of Memlinc. Oddly enough, this meant that Friedländer's own generation was beginning to reject the very ideas on which it had been nurtured. Chief representatives of these older ideas were Weale and the German romantics, and above all Cavalcaselle, whose writings had held sway for so long. Memlinc's art had indeed impressed Cavalcaselle as showing for the first time the Italian influence on the art of the North. Now, according to Friedländer, it was personalities like Michelangelo, van der Goes and Grünewald that were fascinating art historians. Small wonder that Memlinc's reputation suffered a decline. He concluded, that the time might have come to envisage a 'rehabilitation' of this master.

Thirty years after these words of Friedländer, the 'rehabilitation' of Memlinc is still only on the horizon. Some critics continued to find occasion to denigrate Memlinc, and among those who went the farthest was van Puyvelde, who entitled a chapter on the subject '*The Insipid Element in Memlinc's Art*' (223), in which he said: 'Memlinc is often nothing more than a painter of pretty pictures of an almost sickening mawkishness' (224); and in 1959 he reiterated: 'Memlinc's merits have been exaggerated' (225). Bazin found Memlinc's art to be charming and tranquil, but of a certain decadent smugness. 'Born old,' he said, the art of the Bruges painter could not help lapsing into decadence' (226). *The Shrine of St. Ursula* he found one of Memlinc's less satisfactory works, 'an insipid succession of embarkations and debarkations' (227). He compared Memlinc's case to that of Perugino (228). Panofsky's judgment too was mainly negative. He called Memlinc a 'major minor master' (229) and dwelt mainly on those aspects of his art that show him as inferior to his illustrious predecessors, the great founders (230). Even when he reluctantly admitted certain idealistic (231) and even classical aspects in Memlinc (232), he concluded that they are 'negative rather than positive' qualities.

Since the middle of the 20th century, however, some authors seem to view the painter in a rather different light. Baldass lightly touched upon the question in 1942 (233). Like Friedländer, he was aware that Memlinc represents a very special case in the history of art criticism, but he remained a prisoner of his time in most of his judgments. This is also true of Lassigne and Whinney who, without too

much conviction, view Memlinc in a somewhat more positive and progressive perspective (234), and of Denis who went so far as to say that 'the extremely high technical quality of all of Memlinc's work cannot be overstressed' (235). Recently, Cuttler wrote: 'Memlinc's grace, charm, and technical brilliance tend to blind us to his progressive outlook...' (236). His preoccupations, this author says, are monumentality, light, space (237). Heinz considers Memlinc a pre-classic who created an ideal world without evolution; evil has the same physical features as good. His art was particularly advanced in the field of portraiture (238). In the most comprehensive monograph published on Memlinc since 1937, Faggin objectively approaches the problem of Memlinc criticism and, like Friedländer, speaks of '*riabilitazione*' (239).

Sulzberger reviews the criticism of Memlinc's art from the early 19th century to Fromentin (240), and Löhneysen from its beginnings to 1862 (241).

Since the Memlinc Exhibition in Bruges in 1939, paintings by this master or from his workshop have been shown several times, principally in Bruges (242), Dijon, Amsterdam and Brussels (243), Detroit (244), Florence (245), London (246), Lucerne (247), Manchester (248), Paris (249), Schaffhausen (250) and Worcester-Philadelphia (251).

THE CONTEMPORARIES OF MEMLINC IN BRUGES

The preface written by Arndt for the catalogue of the recent exhibition *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes* (252) summarizes the present state and trend of research on this subject. The volume devoted to the anonymous masters in Thieme and Becker's well-known reference work, published in 1950 (253), should be cited as another supplement to Friedländer for the period after 1937.

THE MASTER OF 1473

This master is accorded an entry in Thieme and Becker (254). The *Altarpiece of Jan de Witte* (No. 112), his basic work and so far the only one known (see also Add. 264), has been included in special exhibitions five or six times since 1937, until its acquisition by the Brussels Museum in 1963 (255). Pauwels commented on it in the catalogue of the Bruges exhibition of 1960 (256); during the same year it was also exhibited in Detroit, and commented upon in the catalogue by Folie (257). After its sale in London in 1962 (258), it was exhibited in Brussels at the Robert Finck Gallery (259). Philippot has written on its place in the evolution of the concept of image in Netherlandish painting (260) and Vey studied the Weyer collection, of which the triptych formed part in the middle of the 19th century (261).

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. URSULA

In addition to the entry in Thieme and Becker (262) and the notes in the Bruges catalogue (263), we must mention a study of this master by Bautier (264) and above all another more thorough study, with a critical catalogue, by Marlier (265). Some pictures by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula have been studied separately, as

for instance the altarpiece with the *Nativity* in Detroit (No. 114), by Richardson (266); two *Virgins and Child with Angels* (Nos. 121b and 122), by Eisler in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* (267); the *St. Anne* of the Lehman Collection (No. 119), by Heinrich (268). After entering the Bruges Museum, the basic work, the *Legend of St. Ursula*, was of course included in the scholarly catalogue of this museum by Pauwels (269). The *Portrait of a Man*, in Providence (Supp. 237), was given to van der Goes by Tolnay (270).

Michiels has studied the ancient views of Bruges, especially the Bruges pictures of the 15th century, some of them by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula (Nos. 114, 119 and 134) (271). Philippot has considered the role played by this painter in the evolution of the concept of image in early Netherlandish painting (272). Winkler has established that the composition of the principal figure in the *Virgin and Child with a Donor and St. Michael* (Add. 271) was borrowed from van der Goes (273).

Some pictures by this Master have been shown at various exhibitions, for example the Bruges exhibition of 1939, already mentioned (274); in Worcester and Philadelphia, also in 1939 (275); in Florence in 1948 (276); in Bruges in 1953 (277); in London in 1953-54 (278), again in Bruges in 1960 (279); and in Detroit the same year (280).

THE MASTER OF THE BARONCELLI PORTRAITS

A brief entry in Thieme and Becker (281) and a notice in the catalogue of the exhibition of the anonymous Flemish primitives in Bruges (282) seem to be the only two works in which the master has been treated separately since 1937. The painting in the Lee Collection, Courtauld Institute, London (No. 138), has been studied by Murray in the catalogue of that collection (283), while Wormald has devoted an interesting short article to the identification of the saint represented on this painting as St. Catherine of Bologna (284); this identification fits in well with the previous identification of the coat of arms by van de Put as that of the Bolognese family Loiani. Boon has attributed a drawing to the Master of the Baroncelli Portraits (285). His basic work, the two donor portraits in the Uffizi (No. 137), were on exhibition in Florence in 1948 (286) and in Bruges in 1953 (287).

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. LUCY

For some years after 1937 this master attracted little attention. Schöne alone, in his monograph on Dieric Bouts, published in 1938, stressed the relation between the anonymous Bruges painter and Dieric by pointing to more than one composition by the latter that was used by the St. Lucy Master (288). He was also given an entry in Thieme and Becker in 1950 (289); but all this did not add much to Friedländer's data.

The current status of this master is summed up in the catalogue of the Bruges exhibition of anonymous Flemish primitives (290). It is now possible to add to his oeuvre a dozen works Friedländer did not include in 1937 (291). Among them is the altarpiece of the *Virgin Enthroned* (also known as the Polyptych of the Confraternity of the Black Heads), preserved in Tallinn (Add. 278) and published by Verhaegen (292), which is important on account of both its history and its dimensions. On the

occasion of its restoration, it was studied also by Lumiste (293). An attempt to pin down the chronology of the painter and his relations with Spain was made by Verhaegen (294), who also studied a composition apparently derived from Rogier, which the Master of St. Lucy used at least twice (see No. 148 and Add. 282) (295). The same author commented on the restoration of the Brussels *Virgin among Virgins* (No. 155) (296). On the subject of the Master's relations with Spain, Lassaigue gave it as his opinion that the painter never left Bruges but trained young Spanish artists in his workshop (297). Eisler thinks that Michiel Sittow may have been a pupil of the Master of St. Lucy in Bruges. This is suggested by the fact that the master had connections both with Tallinn and with Spain and that at least one of his works, the important *Mary Queen of Heaven* in Washington (Add. 277), influenced the young Sittow (298).

In the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands*, the *Virgin and Child* of Williamstown (No. 149) is the subject of a study by Eisler (299) and the *Episcopal Saint Enthroned* at Bruges (Supp. 245) of another by Janssens de Bisthoven (300). In the series *Répertoire* of the same collection ('Les Primitifs Flamands'), Carandente studied some previously unidentified paintings in Sicily (i.e. Add. 283) (301).

Suida devoted a note to the *Mary Queen of Heaven* (Add. 277) in his catalogue of the Kress Collection (302), while Pauwels supported the attribution of the *Episcopal Saint* of Bruges (Supp. 245) to the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy (303) (Friedländer attributed this painting to the Master of the Legend of St. Augustine, see below).

In his monumental monograph on Hugo van der Goes, Winkler studied a composition by Hugo that is reflected at least twice in the St. Lucy Master's work (see Nos. 154 and 155) (304).

Iconographical points have been stressed by some authors, among them by de Gaiffier concerning the rôle of St. Barbara in the Brussels *Virgin among Virgins* (No. 155) (305); by van den Bergen, who identified the donors of the Lugano altarpiece of the *Lamentation* (Supp. 239) (306); by Michiels, who analyzed some Bruges monuments shown in the numerous cityscapes characteristic of this painter (Nos. 139, 140, 141, 151, 152, 154, 157, 158, Supp. 241, Supp. 245) (307) and by Winternitz, who dealt with the angel concert in the above mentioned *Mary Queen of Heaven* (Add. 277) (308). Philippot commented on the role of the Master of St. Lucy in the evolution of the concept of image in early Netherlandish painting (309).

A number of paintings by the Master of St. Lucy have been on exhibition since 1937, especially: in Worcester-Philadelphia, 1939 (310), in London, 1946-47 and 1953-54 (311), in Paris, 1947, (312), in Florence, 1948 (313), in Detroit, 1960 (314), in Laren (Netherlands), 1961 (315), and, last but not least, in Bruges, 1953, 1956, 1960 and 1969 (316). In some of the Bruges catalogues, for example in those of 1960 and 1969, the paintings are studied quite thoroughly.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. AUGUSTINE

This master was introduced briefly by Friedländer in his Volume XIV in 1937 (see p. 44), where he referred to an article he wrote on him the same year (317). Around the *St. Augustine Altarpiece* (Supp. 244), he grouped three portraits (Add. 289, Add.

290 and Add. 291) and an *Episcopal Saint Enthroned* in the museum in Bruges (Supp. 245). He placed the artist in Bruges on the basis of a view of that town in the background of the *Episcopal Saint*.

The master is given an entry in Thieme and Becker's 1950 volume (3181); Janssens de Bisthoven published a dossier on the *Episcopal Saint* in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* (3191). In 1959, Verhaegen reconstructed an altarpiece around the *Episcopal Saint* and returned to an older attribution of this painting to the Master of St. Lucy, thus taking away the principal basis for placing the Master of St. Augustine in Bruges (3201). Among others, Pauwels (3211) and De Vos (in the catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition of 1969) (3221) have agreed on this attribution.

Michiels included the view of Bruges in the *Episcopal Saint* in his iconography of the city (3231) and J. and P. Courcelle further studied the iconography of the *St. Augustine Altarpiece* (Supp. 244) (3241). A part of this basic work, the fragment with *St. Augustine and St. Paul* (Supp. 244), was exhibited in Bruges in 1969 (3251).

THE MASTER OF SAN LORENZO DELLA COSTA

The style of this master is known from but a single work, the *Costa Altarpiece* (Supp. 246), and he has not been included in Thieme and Becker, nor was he represented in the Bruges Exhibition of anonymous Flemish primitives in 1969. The *Costa Altarpiece* has been studied by Morassi (3261). It was exhibited in Genoa in 1946 (3271) and in Bruges in 1951 (3281). Commenting on the latter exhibition, dos Santos (3291) and van Gelder (3301) have suggested that the *Costa Altarpiece* was done by a Flemish painter working in Portugal, possibly a certain Hendrickx or Henriquez.

THE MASTER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (3311)

Friedländer mentioned this painter briefly in 1937 (see p. 44), referring to an earlier article of his (3321) for more details. He may not have known at the time that Hoogewerff, in the same year, 1937, tentatively identified the Master of St. John the Evangelist as the young Jan Joest van Kalkar (3331).

At any rate, his views on this proposal are not on record. This master is included in the 1950 volume of Thieme and Becker's lexicon (3341). The panels from the *Altarpiece of St. John*, the painter's basic work (Supp. 247), and the *Altarpiece of the Annunciation* (Add. 292) were on exhibition in Florence in 1948 (3351).

THE MASTER OF THE TURIN ADORATION

This master is also briefly mentioned by Friedländer in 1937 (see p. 44), with a reference to a more detailed article he had written in 1927 (3361). The Master of the Turin Adoration is given an entry in the 1950 volume on anonymous painters, of Thieme and Becker's work (3371). His basic work or rather its central panel (Supp. 250) was included in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* by Aru and Geradon (3381). He was represented at the Florence exhibition in 1948 with two panels from the legends of Sts. Agnes and Catherine (Add. 296) (3391).

In 1949, Gerard David, like Memlinc ten years before, was the sole subject of an exhibition in Bruges, at the Groeninge Museum; this exhibition moved on to London with variations (340). Friedländer wrote the preface to the catalogue. Unfortunately, only a few important works could be assembled in addition to those already in Bruges, the absence of the *Virgin Enthroned with Female Saints* from the Rouen museum (No. 215), being particularly felt. The exhibition was commented on by van Gelder (341), Lavalleye (342), van de Walle de Ghelcke (343) and others.

In 1946, Boon published a monograph on Gerard David in the *Palet* series (344). Like Friedländer's *Memlinc* in the same series, it contains neither a catalogue nor a comprehensive bibliography. Actually, there has been a sprinkling of small studies on Gerard David, but there are no important works comparable to those by Weale, Bodenhausen or Friedländer. There have been no controversies, no important discoveries of texts or pictures, no changes in appreciation.

Naturally paragraphs and chapters have been devoted to David in books like those by Lavalleye (345), van Puyvelde (346), Panofsky (347), Whinney (348), Musper (349) and, generally speaking, any work on early Netherlandish painting. The rôle played by David in the origins of landscape painting is nearly always emphasized. Friedländer himself comes back to this point in his *Essays* of 1947 (350). Panofsky stresses David's 'productive archaism' (351). Gudlaugsson wrote the entry on the painter in Kindler's dictionary (352). Parmentier has published a series of texts and documents concerned with the life of the artist and some members of his family in Bruges (353), and Marlier, in his book on Benson, commented on the stormy relations between the ebullient Lombard and Gerard David. Benson went so far as to have his aged master thrown into prison (354).

According to Folie (355), only one picture can be authenticated with absolute certainty as having been painted by David: the Rouen painting (No. 215); the *Justice of Cambyzes* (No. 222) comes second, with a high degree of authenticity. All other works are grouped around these pictures on grounds of stylistic criticism. Fifteen pictures by Gerard David have been studied up to now in the *Corpus des Primitif Flamands*, the Rouen painting not among them. This omission is all the more regrettable in that examination of the execution of these 15 pictures has shown important differences of technique, for instance between the *Justice of Cambyzes*, already mentioned, and the *Baptism of Christ* (No. 161), both at the Bruges museum. This has been commented upon by Janssens de Bisthoven (356). The other pictures studied in the *Corpus* are those in London (Nos. 162, 182, 194, 210, 216, 219, 221 and 223), by Davies (357); those at the Louvre (Nos. 165, 183 and 202), by Adhémar (358); and the Leningrad painting (194a), by Loewinson-Lessing and Nicouline (359). The *Virgin with a Rose* in Granada (No. 207) and *Christ Showing his Wounds* in Greenville (Add. 297) have been studied by Lavalleye in the *Répertoire* series (360). A thorough study of the *Adoration of the Magi* in Munich (No. 181) and its relations to van der Goes has been published by Arndt (361). Two compositions used by Gerard David and going back to some lost originals by van der Goes have been examined by Winkler in his monograph on the Ghent painter (362). One of them is the *Adoration* mentioned above (No. 181), the other a *Sacra Conver-*

sazione of which the Gerard David version is itself only known through copies. One of these copies, by Isenbrant, is mentioned by Friedländer in Volume XI (No. 184). The *Altarpiece of the Cervara* (Nos. 172, 173 and 202) has been studied by Castelnovi 1363 and by Hoogewerff 1364.

Numerous other pictures, both in Friedländer's catalogue and out, have been subjects of individual studies 1365. It seems useful to mention here the articles by Brans 1366, Davies 1367, Langton Douglas 1368, Dubiez 1369, Everett Fahy 1370, Francis 1371, Lischer 1372, Musper 1373, Ringbom 1374, Salinger 1375, Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1376, Vincent 1377 and van de Walle de Ghelcke 1378.

The restoration of the Bruges *Transfiguration* (No. 184) is mentioned by Janssens de Bisthoven 1379. Châtelet gives the *Altarpiece of the Nativity* in New York (No. 159) to Ouwater 1380, and Michel has ascribed the *Almighty Flanked by Two Angels* in the Louvre (No. 202) to Aelbrecht Cornelis 1381. Pauwels has studied the two pictures in the Bruges Museum (Nos. 161 and 222) in his scientific catalogue of 1963 1382. Some paintings by David are included in iconographical studies: Behling 1383, Birkmeyer 1384, Heckscher 1385, Rost 1386, Sulzberger 1387, Verjans 1388, and Gans and Kisch 1389.

Gerard David's relations with the art of book illumination have been dealt with by some authors. In 1939, Hulin de Loo ascribed to him in part the execution of the Mayer van den Bergh breviary 1390, but van de Walle de Ghelcke voiced scepticism in 1952. According to him there is no positive evidence linking Gerard David to any known illuminations 1391. Nor is there any certainty about David's drawings. Friedländer himself retracted on the subject of a group of drawings he had previously accepted by giving the famous sketchbook in question to the Master of the Brandon Portraits 1392. Benesch, however, continued to accept David's authorship 1393; and Popham and Fenwick, discussing a drawing at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, representing four heads copied from the *Ghent Altarpiece* (Plate 230D), also gave the sketchbook to David, despite Friedländer 1394. Five drawings attributed to Gerard David were on view at the Bruges exhibition in 1949 1395.

The history of criticism concerning Gerard David in the 19th century has been studied by Sulzberger 1396, and since its beginnings by Löhneysen 1397. The history of the Bruges paintings (Nos. 161, 184 and 22) as reflected in 19th century documents, has been traced by Sosson 1398.

One question of concern to art historians remains unanswered: did Gerard David ever visit Italy? There is no unequivocal proof that he did. Some authors nevertheless think such a journey likely and give the goal more precisely as Liguria or Venice, for example Hoogewerff 1399, Lavalleye 1400, Sulzberger 1401, Genaille 1402 and Koch 1403. Others are doubtful or consider it improbable, among them Devliegher 1404, Kurz 1405 and Lassaigue 1406.

Paintings by David and his workshop have been exhibited several times since 1937, principally in Bruges in 1949, as already mentioned. Among other important international exhibitions have been those in Bruges 1407, Detroit 1408, Florence 1409, London 1410, Paris 1411, Schaffhausen 1412, and Worcester-Philadelphia 1413.

1. Friedländer most probably had in mind the volume by K. Voll, 'Memling. Des Meisters Gemälde' (*Klassiker der Kunst*), Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1909. In the present edition, every painting with a number in the catalogue is illustrated plus a number of copies, many drawings and some comparative works of art mentioned in the text. In the case of Volume VI, the number of paintings to be grouped under Memling and David is such that the publishers have decided to divide the material into two separate volumes. The first, Volume VI A, is devoted to Memling and to Memling's followers and contemporaries in Bruges; the second, Volume VI B, is devoted to Gerard David.

2. In his own copy of the original edition (See Volume IV, Note 26, in the present edition), Friedländer added, on p. 10 of Volume VI, a question mark above the date 1534. Marcus van Vaerenwijck's *Vlaemsche Audvremdigheyt* was in fact first published in 1560. Different editions followed shortly. In 1574, the title was changed into *Historie van Belgis*. Friedländer gives the date correctly in his book 'Memling' (Palet Serie), Amsterdam, [1949], p. 1.

3. In the margin of his own copy of the original edition, p. 17, Friedländer wrote: *Engel in Wallace Gal.*, alluding to No. 42. This angel has indeed *une espée en sa main*.

4. The three elements of No. 23 originally formed a triptych, not a diptych. See p. 49, No. 23.

5. In the original edition, Vol. III, a misprint for Vol. IV.

6. This *Crucifixion* was painted in grisaille on a reddish-brown background. It was still mentioned in 1939 (G. H. Mc Call and W. R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300-1800. Masterpieces of Art. New York World's Fair, May-October, 1939*, New York, 1939, pp. 15-16, No. 29) but said to have disappeared in 1960 (J. Folie, a.o., *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960*, Brussels 1960, pp. 139-140). The panels are now cradled. The original hinges have been recently removed. They were protruding more than usual because of the peculiar form of this triptych composed of three panels of equal size. The present frame seems original, though this has been contested (J. Folie, a.o., *ibidem*).

7. In heraldic terms: argent a griffin segreant gules on a chief azure three fleur de lys or, between the points of a label of four gules (according to the catalogue *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900. Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1927*, p. 36, No. 71).

8. The escutcheon on the Strasbourg panel could be that of Giovanni d'Antonio Loiano. The chief was a token of allegiance to the Guelph party; the donor's family is thus presumably of Italian origin despite the French motto. The same escutcheon

appears a third time on an *Altarpiece of the Lamentation*, by a Memling follower, preserved in the Galleria Durazzo-Pallavicini, Genoa (Add. 265 and Vol. IV, No. 7d). The right wing of this triptych bears a merchant mark and the letter L which seems to corroborate the Loiano identification. This information was kindly given by Mme. C. Van den Bergen-Pantens, heraldist at the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels.

9. According to the principle adopted in the present re-edition, the works mentioned here by Friedländer are listed among the Supplements to the Catalogues, p. 111. As he refers also to the paintings he studied in his article of 1927, though without citing them in detail, it has been thought useful to introduce those paintings among the Addenda, pp. 116-117.

10. See also Vol. XI, p. 87 in the original edition.

11. A late copy of the centrepiece has been recently published by G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie, 1. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, 11. Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes du Quinzième Siècle, 3*), Brussels, 1968, p. 13, No. 15, Pl. 1va.

12. This altarpiece is a pentaptych, the shutters being double and, when closed a second time, showing an *Annunciation* in grisaille. Another example of this type is the altarpiece of Tallinn by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, Add. 278. See also Add. 260.

13. The triptych in Budapest also shows an *Annunciation*, in grisaille, on the outsides. This *Annunciation* is badly damaged.

14. This elderly saint can either be Elisabeth, cousin of Mary and mother of John the Baptist, or Anne, mother of Mary.

15. For the reverse of these shutters, see Add. 261.

16. Though fairly damaged, especially the shutters, the three panels have survived the fire. The shutters are now cradled. In 1939, Friedländer saw the centrepiece on exhibition in Bruges and complained that 'unfortunately it has not risen from the ashes as a phoenix' (M. J. Friedländer, 'The Memling Exhibition at Bruges', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, pp. 123-124).

17. In reality, Angelo di Jacopo Tani. Friedländer mentions him as Angelo Tani on p. 26. Cf. J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne (Gdańsk, Kraków, Warszawa)' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, 1. Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle, 9*), Brussels, 1966, p. 81, and Idem, 'Memling et Angelo Tani: Le Portrait du Musée des Offices No. 1102', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 102-109.

18. The insides of the shutters are now separated again. For the composition of the centrepiece, see Addenda, p. 117.

19. See Vol. VII, No. 81, Plate 70.

20. The angel with the lute is not kneeling but approaching in the middle distance.

21. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: 1932 noch bei Th. Harris.

22. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *Mst. v. 1499 (?)*. The portrait of the donor corresponds indeed rather closely with the figure on the diptych with the *Madonna in the Church* by this master in the Antwerp Museum (see Vol. IV, No. 37, Plate 44).

23. St. Anthony Abbot, and not St. Anthony of Padua.

24. The Donne triptych has always been claimed to have been painted before 1469, as this date was believed to be that of Sir John Donne's death. It is now known that he died in 1503, and there is no reason to believe that the triptych should be placed so early in Memlinc's career. See M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, (3rd ed. revised), London, 1968, pp. 125-128. As regards the state of conservation, it is interesting to quote M. Davies: 'Very good condition; the most important loss on the front is on the Virgin's face, right centre. There are more losses from the reverses, especially the one showing St. Christopher, but even here the condition is to be called good.' (*Ibidem*, p. 125).

25. St. Anthony Abbot, and not St. Anthony of Padua.

26. The altarpiece has been restored in 1955-1956. See P. Coremans, R. Sneyers and J. Thissen, 'Memlinc's Mystiek Huwelijck van de H. Katharina. Onderzoek en Behandeling', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), I, 1959, pp. 83-96.

27. Not St. Benedict, but his disciple St. Maurus. The triptych was indeed executed for an altar dedicated to Sts. Maurus and Giles. See A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Le musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge)' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I, *Corpus...*, 1), Antwerp, 1959, pp. 91-92, 94 and 98.

28. See Vol. IV, No. 7b.

29. For the second panel of the diptych, see Supp. 225.

30. See Vol. IV, No. 7c. Cf. Supp. 225.

31. Unidentified. On the reverse also, nine cranes and a fox (?). See Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues...*, 1968, p. 124, No. 747. The reverse has been cleaned in 1956, according to G.T. Fagg, 'L'Opera Completa di Memlinc' (*Classici dell'Arte*), Milan, 1969, p. 100.

32. This panel represents the Devil, as opposed to Christ on the preceding scene; or Hell, as opposed to Heaven, if the principal personage on the preceding scene is God and not Christ alone. The inscription: *In Inferno Nulla est Redemptio* seems to corroborate the latter interpretation.

33. The arms could be those of Giovanni d'Antonio Loiano, from Bologna, according to the catalogue *Bordeaux 19 Mai-31 Juillet 1954. Flandres Espagne Portugal du XVe au XVIIIe Siècle*, Bordeaux, 1954, p. 65, No. 52. See also Note 8.

The reconstitution of the altarpiece as proposed on Plates 61-63 is only tentative. If the frames are original, and if the panels are presently placed each in their own primitive frame, we must bear in mind that *Death*, *Vanity*, and *Hell* have frames with mouldings while the *Escutcheon*, *Christ* and the *Skull* have simpler frames with bevelled edges. The latter corresponds normally to an exterior decoration, while the first corresponds to an interior one. In consequence, as proposed on a drawing preserved in the

archives of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, one could imagine a triptych with equal panels, each having a recto and a verso. For instance: left wing, *Death*, verso the *Escutcheon*; central panel, *Vanity*, verso, the *Skull*; right wing, *Hell*, reverse, *Christ*. Nevertheless, as a verso on a central panel seems quite unusual, we would rather believe in a quadriptych (such as Nos. 1 in Vol. III or 69 in Vol. IV) where only the *Escutcheon* and the *Skull* would be outside on the shutters, while *Christ* and *Hell* would constitute the central panel, without reverse, and *Death* and *Vanity* would form the two inner wings. In that case, we should of course admit that at least the panel with *Christ* is not presently in its primitive frame. A careful search for possible traces of hinges and of the relationship between the painted surfaces and the frames might yield some useful information.

34. 'The *King David* panel (No. 97) belongs with this work. It is now in the M. Epstein collection, Chicago' (from Vol. XIV, 1937). See also Note 68.

35. The old frame, probably the original, bears traces of hinges which, if so, would indicate that it belonged to a triptych (letter from Dr. Horst Vey, Kustos, 22d. October 1969).

36. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *Zustand mässig*.

37. Cf. Add. 260. The composition of the *Nativity* is the same.

38. Friedländer reproduced this *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in Vol. XIV, Supp. Pl. XX, in the original edition. See also p. 36 (Supplement from Vol. XIV) and Note 70.

39. It has not been possible to trace this copy. In the catalogue by W.H. James Weale, *Tableaux de l'Ancienne Ecole Néerlandaise Exposés à Bruges dans la grande Salle des Halles. Septembre 1867*, Bruges 1867, pp. 24-25, No. 17 bis, a triptych is mentioned, 69 x 55-24 cm, representing the *Passion of Christ* after the painting by Memlinc in Turin. It is possible that there has been a confusion with No. 342.

40. In the original edition 1912, a misprint for 1902.

41. On pine wood. Four copies, including this one, are mentioned by C. Aru and E. de Geradon, 'La Galerie Sabauda de Turin' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I, *Corpus...*, 2), Antwerp, 1952, p. 17.

42. A recent investigation of the painting on the occasion of its cleaning and treatment has revealed pentimenti and some extensive changes in composition. For instance, the wings of the angel were first conceived as upraised and bearing definite peacock markings. Friedländer's hypothesis that the panel is composed of two shutters joined together is invalidated by the findings of the restorer, Mr. Charles Tauss, New York, in a report dated 27th September 1969:

'Although the panel has been split at the center and rejoined, the interlocking and overlapping of the painted forms on either side of the division (e.g., the cliffs, the robe of the angel, the sarcophagus lid and the sarcophagus itself) indicates that the composition is a single unit'.

43. Cf. Supp. 229.

44. See Addenda, p. 118 and Note 46. A few versions are

to be found in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

45. See Addenda, p. 118.

46. The pendant is a *Christ Giving the Blessing* with the same composition as No. 40 and Add. 259. See Plate 92.

47. Apparently the pendant to No. 46. The *Virgin Outdoors* seen by the Anonymous Morellianus may be a mistake for a *St. Veronica*.

48. On the back a chalice with a small serpent, attribute of St. John the Evangelist. This panel may be the pendant to No. 44. On his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: ... (1929 *Vidi*) *tadellos erhalt*. ...

49. The right wing of the diptych, with the donor (see No. 92) has been reunited in 1953 with the *Virgin* in Chicago.

50. See Vol. II, No. 70a.

51. Apparently issued in the Spanish circle of Michael Sittow or Juan de Flandes. On his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *Uzielli, Frankfurt, Spanisch?* (1930 *rest. Berlin*) *Michiel?*

52. See *Répertoire d'Œuvres d'Art dont la Belgique a été Spoliée durant la Guerre 1939-1945* (a copy is preserved in the library of the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels), No. 68, *reprod.* No. 171, with the mention *In December 1948 nog niet teruggezonden*.

53. Cleaned and treated in 1955. The blue sky, an overpainting, was removed and the golden background that had remained visible under the frame alongside the edges and around the contours of the buildings in the background. See also 'Shorter Notices. A Memling for Kansas City', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVI, March 1945, p. 76.

54. In January 1965, the painting was deliberately damaged, especially on the face of the Virgin, together with a number of other paintings in the Uffizi. A few bad scratches, mostly between the eyes, have been since restored.

55. St. Anthony Abbot; dimensions: 92.7 x 53.6 cm.

56. On the back, the coat of arms of the sitter's wife, Barbara van Vlaenderbergh.

57. On the back, the coat of arms of the sitter's husband, Willem Moreel.

58. This man has been identified as Gilles Joye, Canon of the Chapter of St. Donatian in Bruges, and Chaplain of the famous 'Chapelle musicale' of Philip the Good, where he acquired some reputation as a composer. See F. Van Molle, 'Identification d'un Portrait de Gilles Joye attribué à Memling' (*Les Primitifs Flamands* 111. *Contributions à l'Etude des Primitifs Flamands*, 3), Brussels, 1960.

59. On his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *sehr schl. erh. v. H.d.L. war echt und bedeut.* Transferred from wood to canvas. The portrait has been recently cleaned.

60. The frame does not seem to be the original one (Letter from Miss Felice Stampfle, 11th June 1969).

61. It seems that the painting has never belonged to the Metropolitan Museum's collections.

62. Sold to Hitler by order of Mussolini, on 11th June 1941; restored to Italy on 16th November 1948, according to R.

Riviero. *Catalogo. Seconda Mostra Nazionale delle Opere d'Arte Recuperate in Germania*, Florence, 1950, p. 31, No. 4.

63. During a recent cleaning, a hand has been revealed. The painting is apparently on poplar wood (Letter from Miss Beatrice Harris, Secretary to Petworth House, 8th August 1969).

64. Friedländer seems to have confused the Uffizi numbers 780 and 801 bis. His No. 89 should be No. 780 of the Uffizi (Inv. No. 1102) and his No. 90 should be No. 801 bis of the Uffizi (Inv. No. 1123). The latter is thus the portrait that was stolen in 1944 (Letter from Dotta E. Micheletti, from the directorial staff of the Uffizi, 12th May 1970). The sitter for No. 89 (Inv. No. 1102) has been tentatively identified as Angelo di Jacopo Tani, donor of the Danzig altarpiece, by J. Białostocki, 'Memling et Angelo Tani: le Portrait du Musée des Offices No. 1102', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 102-109.

64 bis. See Note 64.

65. Around 1950, during a cleaning, 'the hand which had been painted out was uncovered and a painted oval removed' (Cf. *Flemish Art 1300-1700. Winter Exhibition, 1953-4. Royal Academy of Arts. London*, London, 1953, p. 17, No. 29).

66. St. Anthony of Padua. See also No. 50.

67. In 1937, Friedländer related the *Chastity* stylistically to the panels of the *Life of the Virgin*, Nos. 99 and 32. See p. 36.

68. An article on this fragment, by Joseph J. Rishel, Assistant Curator of Painting and Sculpture, The Art Institute of Chicago, will appear in the forthcoming issue of the *Museum Studies* (Winter 1970?). An examination of the edges of the panel on both No. 97 and No. 25, supported by X-radiographs showing the grain of the wood, could apparently solve the problem of their common origin.

69. The sale took place in The Hague, on 12th August 1850. We have not been able to find any other traces of the painting. The catalogue, p. 8, No. 13, reads: 'Portrait d'une jeune dame. Elle est vêtue d'un habit noir entouré d'une ceinture de soie jaune, et coiffée d'un bonnet de toile qui retombe en arrière sur les épaules. Elle porte une chaîne d'or autour de la poitrine et tient un rosaire dans les mains. D'un fini extraordinaire. Ce portrait gracieux provient de l'église de Saint-Donat à Bruges et sur le fond du tableau se trouve écrit: OBYTAN^o. DN 1479'. A handwritten note, in the copy preserved in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, says: 13.450 *Brondgeest*. The same note appears on the joined *Notice des prix*, p. 3. *Brondgeest* is mentioned on the titlepage of the catalogue: *par le ministère de Jérôme de Vries, Corneille François Roos et Jean Albert Brondgeest*.

70. See p. 36, for comments on No. 99 made by Friedländer in 1937, in his Vol. XIV. See also No. 32 and Add. 262, as presumed parts of the same ensemble. In 1949 ('Memling' (*Palet Serie*), Amsterdam, *reprod.* p. 3), Friedländer published a good photograph of the *Annunciation* during cleaning. The sceptre and the left hand of the angel are visible between the lily and the window, on the extreme left of the actual panel.

71. On the reverse are the coat of arms of the sitter with the inscriptions *Jacques de Savoie* on top, and *Conte de Romont*, at the bottom. The same wording, on the lower part of the obverse of

the portrait, was apocryphal and has been removed (G.T. Faggin, 'L'Opera Completa di Meinling' (*Classici dell'Arte*), Milan, 1969, p. 109, No. 94).

72. The portrait was known in the Lázaro collection as 'Juan de Castilla'. It has not been possible to obtain an indication of its present location. According to Faggin 'L'Opera Completa...', p. 112, No. 118, it left the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano at an unknown time.

73. 'A Virgin and Child with St. Anne has been newly discovered on the verso, possibly painted by Memling himself' (From Vol. XIV, 1937). The composition of the left panel with the Madonna and Four Angels appears in a drawing preserved at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Inv. No. 9677, 254 × 190 mm, silverpoint (See Plate 128A; Cf. A.E. Popham and K.M. Fenwick, *The National Gallery of Canada. European Drawings*, Toronto, 1965, p. 87). In his personal copy of the original edition, Friedländer added a third copy of the Madonna panel, after a. and b.: c. Cf. *Antw. 1930 Ausst. Nr. 329 (Pest. B. Herzog). Mst. v. Kappenberg. Bud. 1929 Nr. 220*. This version was exhibited in Antwerp as from the Baron Herzog-Csete collection, Vienna, 43 × 29.5 cm. See Plate 129.

74. Dollfus auction, at the Galerie G. Petit, 1st-2nd April 1912. The saints on the shutters are St. Anthony Abbot and St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

75. An *Adoration of the Magi*, in the Convento de Santa Clara, Medina del Pomar (Burgos), 93.5 × 76.5 cm., is perhaps by the same hand; original frame with traces of hinges. See J. Lavalle, 'Collections d'Espagne, 2' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes des Quinzième et Seizième Siècles*), Antwerp, 1958, p. 17, No. 57, Pl. VI).

76. On a vanished Crucifixion on the verso, see Note 6. On a *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, perhaps by the same hand, see Add. 264.

77. On the versos of the Church and the Synagogue, is an *Annunciation* in grisaille, see Plate 135.

78. The *Annunciation*, on the verso of the shutters, that was, rather exceptionally, not painted in grisaille, has presently disappeared. We have been able to reproduce the Virgin on Plate 140, but the Angel could not be traced. See (J. Folie, i.a.) *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 139-140.

79. On the verso of the shutters, an *Annunciation* in grisaille. See also Vol. IV, pp. 46-47, and Plate 103, on a drawing of the Magdalene standing, of the same composition as on the present left shutter.

80. This indication given by Friedländer in 1937 seems erroneous. The diptych was bought in 1938 by the Antwerp museum, at Kleinberger's in Paris.

The age of the sitters is inscribed on the frame of the donor panel: 60 for the older woman, 30 for the man and 23 for the young woman. The date 1486 is repeated on the verso of each panel. Those versos also bear paintings of much later date, a

Crucifix and a Chalice with the Host (see Plate 140).

81. See also Add. 264, in the present Volume.

82. The auction took place in 1917.

83. A second version apparently a copy, of No. 123, in which the Child holds an apple, was in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Inv. No. 13.19; 45 × 30.5 cm. It has left the museum (letter of Mr. Samuel Sachs II, Chief Curator, 9th December 1969) and seems to have been since in the possession of the J. Weitzner Galleries, New York. Present location unknown. See G. Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Ursule', in *Jaarboek 1964. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1964, p. 36, Nos. 21 and 22.

84. See also Add. 268.

85. Two more angels are barely visible. The present No. 125 is identical with No. 156 and Supp. 235.

86. The rectangular form seems to have been the original one and has been restored.

87. Probably for 'Lodovico Portinari'. Seems to have formed a diptych with No. 122. See C.T. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 102-105.

88. See also p. 41 and Note 8.

89. See also Note 72 in Vol. III. Other examples of this composition are published by R. Van Schoute, 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus...*, 6), No. 93, pp. 23-27, and by G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie, 1. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. *Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes du Quinzième Siècle*, 3) Brussels, 1968, p. 33, No. 18, Pl. XV.

The saint introducing the donor, on the left wing, is St. Peter Martyr.

90. On the reverse, an *Annunciation* in grisaille.

91. Identical with Supp. 238: in 1937, Friedländer changed the attribution to the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *Berlin Bottenwieser, Mst. d. Ursula-Legende (a. Italien) 1932*. The figure of Christ had been completely overpainted sometime in the XVIIth or XVIIIth century, as shown on a photograph preserved in the Friedländer Archives in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

92. See also Notes 73 and 74, in Vol. III. Cf. also Addenda, p. 118. No. 93a, in Vol. III, seems closer to the Master of St. Lucy than No. 93c (identical with the present No. 146), apparently weaker, the surface having lost a good part of the modeling.

93. See also Vol. III, Note 73.

94. See also Vol. III, Note 73, where the present No. 148 is introduced with a question mark, according to certain indications that it represents a Virgin with the Child playing with his toe. It seems now more probable that No. 148 is identical with a painting published by N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 'La Vierge et l'Enfant au Coussin d'après Rogier van der Weyden' in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, ..., 1966, pp. 149-150 (Letter from the P. de Boer Galleries, Amsterdam, 29th January 1970).

95. The difference in dimensions, between 1895 and some time before 1928, could be due to the fact that the frame may have been included in the latter data. We give here the dimensions of both panel and painted surface (there is no unpainted edge) as measured in 1960 during the examination for the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands*; see Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Corpus...*), 1961, p. 94.

96. See Addenda, p. 118. Friedländer wrote, on the back of a photograph now preserved in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, *Schlecht erhalten*.

97. See also Vol. III, Note 72.

98. See also Vol. III, No. 88 and Note 70.

99. See also Vol. III, No. 88 and Note 70.

100. The painting was cleaned and restored in Brussels in 1955-1956. Some of the headdresses had been overpainted and their primitive shape were revealed to be quite different (See N. Verhaegen 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie. Précisions sur son Œuvre', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), 11, 1959, pp. 74-79).

101. In 1937 (Vol. XIV), Friedländer changed the attribution to the Master of the St. Ursula Legend. In fact, No. 156, identical with Supp. 235, is also identical with No. 125, that Friedländer had already listed under the Master of the St. Ursula Legend.

102. See also Vol. IX, p. 76 of the original edition.

103. One of the panels, the *Execution of Sisamnes*, was cleaned in Bruges in 1959. The original richness of colours was revealed and the contrast between the two states is striking. See H. Pauwels, *Catalogue. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Bruges. Musée Groeninge*, Bruges, 1963, pp. 45-47.

104. On his personal copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *Cf. Hoorebaut?*

105. 'The painting has been transferred to canvas' (Supplement from Vol. XIV, 1937). See also Vol. XI, No. 148.

106. This second wife, Madeleine Cordier, is introduced by St. Mary Magdalene. See A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Le Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 1) 1959, pp. 33-34. See also Vol. IX, pp. 105-106 of the original edition.

107. The frame is original, but it has not been possible to obtain a photograph including this frame, because the painting is presently being restored (Letter from Dr. Lisbeth Stähelin, Winterthur, 21st August 1969). Cf. also Addenda, p. 118.

108. Cf. J. Lavalleye, 'Collections d'Espagne, 2' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 11. *Répertoire...*) Antwerp, 1958, pp. 30-31, No. 79.

109. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote: 1937 gereinigt.

110. Probably St. Julitta and her son, St. Quiricus (or Cyrus).

111. No. 195 seems to have belonged to the same ensemble. It was also in the collection of Cardinal Despuig, Palma de Mallorca. To reconstruct the huge altarpiece, in the absence of all the original frames, and with unreliable dimensions, seems a hard task. About 21 cm. at the top of each of the three panels in Washington have been added (letter from Mr. William P.

Campbell, Acting Chief Curator, 6th May 1970) and the Chicago *Lamentation* (No. 195) 'is cropped now at right and on the top' (*Paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago. A Catalogue of the Picture Collection*, Chicago, 1961, p. 115). The panels in Toledo are intact, with original edges. In Edinburgh, two of the panels, the *Birth of St. Nicholas*, and the *Resurrection of the Three Children*, have been slightly cut at the bottom, but without diminishing the painted surface itself. We are tempted to believe that the *Lamentation* was placed in the centre of the predella, between the three panels with the *Legend of St. Nicholas*, on the left, and the three panels with the *Legend of St. Anthony*, on the right. The difference in total width between the superior part (238.5 cm) and the inferior part or predella (270 cm) may be due to the lost frames.

112. The versos show initials united by love-knots, rather hesitantly traced. White painted figures (old catalogue numbers?) cover a part of their surface.

113. The Abbey della Cervara being Benedictine, this sainted abbot is most probably St. Benedict. He was at least considered so around 1790 (See also for the reconstruction of the altarpiece H. Adhémar, 'Le Musée National du Louvre. Paris' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 5), Brussels, 1962, pp. 138 and 143).

114. Nos. 173 and 202 seem to have belonged to the same ensemble. For the reconstruction of the altarpiece, see H. Adhémar, *Ibidem*, pp. 138 and 140-141.

115. See Note 114.

116. See also Vol. IX, No. 143, and p. 88 of the original edition.

117. 'Several copies are known' (Suppl. from Vol. XIV, 1937). See also Vol. XI, No. 243 and p. 82 of the original edition.

118. See also Vol. XI, p. 87 in the original edition. See also Vol. IV, No. 20a, Plate 34. A number of late copies are known.

119. See also Vol. XI, No. 247.

120. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: *Benson?*

121. The frame is original, but it has not been possible to obtain a photograph including this frame, because the painting is presently being restored (Letter from Dr. Lisbeth Stähelin, Winterthur 21st August 1969).

122. See also Vol. XI, Nos. 165 (3rd line, in the original edition *Bd. VII*, a misprint for *Bd. VI*) and 251.

123. The Uffizi Gallery owns two versions of this composition. The first, reproduced on Plate 200, is square in format and similar to No. 192; the second, Inv. No. 1152, is rounded at the top and much closer to No. 192b. It corresponds to Friedländer's identification for No. 192a. See also Vol. XI, No. 165, the two last lines.

124. Identical with Vol. XI, No. 165b.

125. The Fondi auction took place on the 22nd April 1895.

126. See also Note 111.

127. In the files of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, there is a mention that the pendant is in the collection O. Shea, Waterford, as van der Goes.

128. Cf. E. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, 'Zu einem Veronica-Bild von Gerard David', in *Das Münster*, XXI, 1969, pp. 113-120.

129. This mention rounded at the top seems to be an error. A photograph of this same rectangular version (Plate 205) is preserved in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague, with the mention of the same provenance, written in Friedländer's own hand.

130. May belong to the same ensemble as Nos. 172 and 173, see Note 114.

131. See also Vol. XII, No. 23. See also Addenda, p. 118.

132. On his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote here in the margin: *Vidi 1930, Berlin*.

133. See also Vol. XI, No. 195. See also M.J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister von Sainte Gudule. Nachträgliches', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1939, p. 30 and Fig. 8. See also Addenda, p. 118.

134. The relative value of the different versions has been once more studied by H. Th. Musper, 'Die "Suppenmadonna" des Gerard David in den Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brüssel', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVII, 1968, pp. 11-14.

135. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: = orig.

136. No. 77 in the *Catalogue des Peintures Anciennes. Musées des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Strasbourg*, Strasbourg, 1938, pp. 61-62.

137. 'Now that this painting has been cleaned, it must be regarded as an original' (Suppl. from Vol. XIV, 1937). In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: 1936 Duveen. Orig.

138. After the Master of Flémalle, and mentioned as such in Vol. II, No. 70b, Plate 98.

139. See also Vol. XI, Nos. 174, 182 and 266.

140. Identical with Vol. XI, No. 182.

141. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin: + *Dr. Benedict. (1929) schlecht erhalt. Mad. i. Landsch.* Researches in Granada in 1955 have not succeeded in tracing either this painting or this collection.

142. Identical with Vol. XI, No. 183a.

143. Identical with Vol. XI, No. 183. Cf. also Addenda, p. 118.

144. The Martin Leroy collection seems to have been dispersed. It has not been possible up to now to trace the present location of the paintings.

145. Identical with Vol. XI, No. 197a.

146. See Note 103.

147. The frame seems original. On his own copy of Vol. VI, in the margin near No. 39, Friedländer wrote: *Madrid, Marquesa ... cf. Photo. Orig. (1933). Cf. Rogier (Schongauer)*. There is indeed a photograph of the present painting in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague. Cf. also (J. Folie, i.a.), *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*... Detroit, 1960, p. 153.

148. Supp. 235 is not only identical with No. 156, but also with No. 125, already listed by Friedländer under the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula.

149. Identical with Vol. III, No. 4c.

150. The versos of the shutters show Sts. Peter and Barbara.

151. That the panel has been cut on the left is made obvious by the small scene of *St. George Fighting the Dragon*, now only partially visible. This controversial work reappears under the Master of St. Lucy, as Add. 284. It looks like the product of a collaboration between the Masters of St. Ursula and of St. Lucy. The former could have done the personages, including the princess watching St. George and the two hermits, and also the tower of Notre-Dame of Bruges; all the rest of the landscape seems by the Master of St. Lucy, who could also be responsible for the wavy shine on St. Jerome's beard.

152. Four small scenes of the Legend of St. Nicholas have been proposed as part of the same altarpiece (Cf. N. Verhaegen, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie. Précisions sur son Œuvre', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), II, 1959, pp. 78-82). See Add. 280. If this painting is to be given back to the Master of the St. Lucy Legend (Cf. Verhaegen, *ibidem*), the connection between the Master of St. Augustine and Bruges disappears (see p. 44).

153. This altarpiece is composed of three panels of equal size: on the left a *Marriage at Cana*; in the middle, a *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* and the donors, Andrea della Costa and his wife Agnes Adornes; on the right, a *Raising of Lazarus*. On the back of the side panels, *Adam and Eve*, and the donor couple *in transit*, with their initials A + A united by love-knots. On the lower part of Adam and Eve's niche, the inscription including the date reads: HOC · OPUS · PIERI · FECIT · ANDREAS · DE · COSTE · A 1499 · BRUGIS (this reading, slightly different from that given by Friedländer, is based on a photograph taken in Bruges in 1951). Restored in 1942. See A. Morassi, *Trittico Fiammingo a San Lorenzo della Costa*, Florence, 1947.

154. Cf. also Add. 292, Add. 293 and Add. 294.

155. Cf. also Add. 295 and Add. 296.

156. Friedländer wrote on the back of a photograph preserved in the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague: *Restauriert (namentl. Fleisch u. Esel)*.

157. Information on this triptych, especially its recent history, can be found in J. Couto, 'O Tríptico da Deposição da Cruz Proveniente da Ilha da Madeira Adquirido pelo Estado', in *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, III, 1953, pp. 1-3, and in *Pinturas dos Séculos XV e XVI da Ilha da Madeira (Depois do seu Restauro)*. Catálogo. Maio-1955. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Lisboa, Lisbon, 1955, pp. 12-13 and 28, No. 20.

158. Apparently the Four Evangelists, beginning with St. John, on the left.

159. Appeared in 1939, at the Memlinc exhibition in Bruges, as No. 22. Restored in Brussels by A. Philippot, in 1955. A 16th century copy, here attributed to Albert Cornelisz., is preserved in the cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Logroño (Photo Mas, Barcelona).

160. The painting was exhibited in Bruges in 1939 as part of the Memlinc exhibition (No. 24). On that occasion, Friedländer wrote that it was an early work by Memlinc, inspired by Rogier ('Shorter Notices. The Memlinc Exhibition at Bruges', in the *Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, pp. 123-124), while Schöne

considered the same painting as a Bruges work without connection with Memlinc (W. Schöne, 'Hans Memlinc. Zur Ausstellung seines Lebenswerkes in Brügge', in *Pantheon*, xxiv, 1939, p. 291, Note 1).

Another version, with the Virgin looking up and a modified landscape was sold at Sotheby's, London, on 6th December 1967, Lot 52; 25.4 × 20.3 cm. Cf. G. T. Faggin, 'L'Opera Completa di Memling' (*Classici dell'Arte*), Milan, 1969, p. 105, No. 62.

161. The identification of the donor's family is based on the coat of arms, the same that appear also on Nos. 21 and 138. See p. 41 and Note 8.

162. The frames are original. It has not been possible to obtain photographs showing these frames entirely.

163. In his own copy of the original edition, Friedländer wrote in the margin, near No. 121, p. 137: *Cherbourg Mus., Mad. m. Eng. RB. th [?]*.

164. The frames and their Gothic locks are original. It has not been possible to obtain in time photographs showing the paintings inside their frames after the cleaning and restoration of 1958-1960. See also M. Lumiste, 'Lucia-Legendi Meistri teos Tallinnas', in *Kunst* (Tallinn), 11, 1961, pp. 32-42, text in Estonian with Russian summary (pp. 64-65).

165. See Note 152.

166. See Note 151.

167. In his own collection of photographs, now in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, Friedländer kept photographs of this painting in different states of preservation, i.e. largely overpainted, and cleaned with strong wearing and numerous losses showing. On the back, the attribution to the Master of St. Lucy is written in Friedländer's own hand.

168. The central panel is probably identical with Supp. 250, according to Friedländer (*Drei Niederländische Maler...*, p. 279). See also C. Aru and E. de Geradon, 'La Galerie Sabauda de Turin' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, 1 Corpus...*, 2), Antwerp, 1952, pp. 28-31.

169. See a.o. J. Lavalleye, 'Collections d'Espagne, 1' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, 11. Répertoire...*), Antwerp, 1953, p. 19, No. 17 Pl. xx.

170. As is to be expected, those art historians and critics are mostly Belgians: G. H. Dumont, 'Hans Memlinc ou la Fin d'un Monde', in *La Revue Générale Belge*, xxii, 1947, pp. 00 and *Memling*, London-New York, 1967; J. van der Elst, *The Last Flowering of the Middle-Ages*, New York, 1944; P. Fierens, 'Memlinc' (*Les Maîtres*), Paris, s.d. [ca. 1949]; J. A. Goris, *Hans Memlinc te Brugge*, Bruges, 1939; P. Haesaerts, 'Hans Memlinc', in *Beeldende Kunst* (Amsterdam), xxvi, 1939, pp. 1-8; J. Lavalleye, *Memling*, Bruges, 1939; J. Muls, *Memling. De Laat-Gotische Droom*, Dierst, 1939 (4th ed., Hasselt, 1960), etc...

171. *Memling Tentoonstelling ingericht door het Stadsbestuur in het Stedelijk Museum te Brugge* (22 juni-1 October 1939). *Catalogus*. Bruges, 1939. The same catalogue exists in a French version, which includes a number of errors.

172. M. J. Friedländer, 'The Memling Exhibition at Bruges',

in *The Burlington Magazine*, lxxv, 1939, pp. 123-124; Arschot, 'L'Exposition Memling à Bruges', in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, May-December 1939, No. 2, pp. 67-94; L. Van den Bossche, 'Cinquième Centenaire Memling à Bruges', in *L'Art Sacré*, v, 1939, pp. 199-202; H. G. Fell, 'Hans Memling Honoured at Bruges', in *The Connoisseur*, civ, 1939, p. 100; A. M. Frankfurter, 'European Postscript 1939: The Veronese, Leonardo, Medici and Memling Exhibitions', in *Art News*, xxxviii, 1939, pp. 7-8; L. Gillet, 'L'Exposition Memling à Bruges', in *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 8e per., lvi, 1939, pp. 693-698; F. H. Heinz-Beyer, 'Belgien ehrt einen Deutschen Maler. Zum 500. Geburtstag Memlings', in *Das Bild*, ix, 1939, pp. 296-300; F. M. Huebner, 'Das Memling-Jubiläum in Brügge', in *Die Weltkunst* (Berlin), xiii, 9 July 1939, pp. 3-4; J. A. B. M. de Jong, 'De Memling-Tentoonstelling te Brugge', in *Gildeboek*, xxii, 1939, pp. 110-115; P. Lambotte, 'L'Exposition Hans Memling au Musée de Bruges', in *L'Art et les Artistes*, N.S. xxxviii, 1939, pp. 217-244 and 285; G. Marlier, 'L'Exposition Memling à Bruges', in *Les Beaux-Arts*, 28 July 1939, p. 5; W. Schöne, 'Hans Memling. Zur Ausstellung seines Lebenswerkes in Brügge', in *Pantheon* (Munich), xxiv, 1939, pp. 291-299, etc.... Certain iconographical ideas have been put forward in a series of short articles grouped in *Liturgisch Parochieblad* (Bruges), xxii, No. 5, May 1940, pp. 98-136.

173. Jan van Mirmelinghe, Harmans [?] zuene, ghebooren Zaleghenstat, poortre 30 in Laumaent [1465], omme 24 s.gr.'. R. A. Parmentier, *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, Bruges, 1938, l. p. xxvvi. This text is reproduced in facsimile by M. W. Brockwell, 'A Document Concerning Memling', in *The Connoisseur*, civ, 1939, pp. 186 and 218. See also F. L. Ganshof, 'Le Lieu de Naissance de Hans Memlinc', in *Humanisme et Renaissance*, vi, 1939, pp. 81-82. On the mention, in Seligenstadt, of Memlinc's parents and of masses said for the painter as late as 1544, see H. W. Strasser, 'Hans Memling te Seligenstadt', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis Gesticht onder de Benaming 'Société d'Emulation' te Brugge*, xcvi, 1961, pp. 97-100.

174. M. J. Friedländer, 'Noch Etwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling', in *Oud-Holland*, lxi, 1946, pp. 11-19.

175. M. J. Friedländer, 'Memling' (*Palet Serie*), Amsterdam, [1949]. Among those who expressed doubts on the attribution to Memlinc of this series of panels are Schöne (ref. in Note 172), pp. 291 f. and Baldass (see Note 178), p. 40.

176. M. J. Friedländer, *Essays über die Landschaftsmalerei und andere Bildgattungen*, The Hague, 1947, pp. 39, 300-301 and 342-343.

177. M. J. Friedländer, 'Van der Goes und Memling', in *Oud-Holland*, lxxv, 1950, pp. 167-171.

178. L. von Baldass, *Hans Memling*, Vienna, 1942.

179. G. T. Faggin, 'L'Opera Completa di Hans Memling' (*Classici dell'Arte*), Milan, 1969.

180. A. Schoutteet, 'Nieuwe Teksten Betreffende Hans Memling', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xxiv, 1955, pp. 81-84.

181. J. P. Sosson, 'Les Primitifs Flamands de Bruges. Apports des Archives Contemporaines (1815-1907)' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 111. Contributions à l'Etude des Primitifs Flamands, 4), Brussels, 1966.
182. J. Folie, 'Les Œuvres Authentifiées des Primitifs Flamands', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), vi, 1963, pp. 225-229.
183. A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Le Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. Corpus..., 1), 2nd ed., Antwerp, 1959, pp. 90-107.
184. C. Aru and E. de Geradon, 'La Galerie Sabauda de Turin', (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. Corpus..., 2), Antwerp, 1952, pp. 14-20.
185. M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. Corpus..., 3), Vol. 11, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 157-172; Vol. 111, Brussels, 1970, pp. 38-51.
186. C. T. Eisler, 'New England Museum' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. Corpus..., 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 66-70.
187. R. Van Schoute, 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. Corpus..., 6), Brussels, 1963, pp. 58-86.
188. J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. Corpus..., 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 55-123.
189. P. Coremans, R. Sneyers and J. Thissen, 'Memlinc's Mystiek Huwelijck van de H. Katharina. Onderzoek en Behandeling', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), 11, 1959, pp. 83-96.
190. O. Trigo de Sousa, 'Relatório do exame radiográfico do quadro "A Virgem e o Menino" de Hans Memling', in *Boletim dos Museus Nacionais de Arte Antiga* (Lisbon), 11, 1943, p. 189.
191. A. J. de B. 'Memlings Maria Boodschap Gerestaureerd', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis Gesticht onder de Benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, xciv, 1957, pp. 87-88.
192. J. Goege, 'Vereinfachte Herstellung Mikroskopischer Farbschnitte', in *Maltechnik* (Munich), 1 xv, 1959, pp. 104-106.
193. C. G. Heise, *Der Lübecker Passionsaltar von Hans Memling*, Hamburg, 1950.
194. H. A. Gräbke, 'Der Memling-Altar', in *Lübecker Museumshefte*, s.d., Heft 1.
195. M. Hasse, 'Der Lübecker Passionsaltar Hans Memlings als Denkmal Mittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit', in *Der Wagen*, 1958, pp. 37-42; 'Hans Memlings Lübecker Altarschrein', in *Lübecker Museumshefte*, 1967.
196. C. Garas, 'Le Retable du Calvaire de Memling', in *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, No. 9, 1956, pp. 28-36.
197. W. Drost, *Das jüngste Gericht des Hans Memling in der Marienkirche zu Danzig*, Vienna, (1941).
198. F. Van Molle, 'Un Portrait de Gilles Joye attribué à Memlinc' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 111. Contributions à l'Etude des Primitifs Flamands, 3), Brussels, 1960.
199. J. Białostocki, 'Memlinc et Angelo Tani: Le Portrait du Musée des Offices No. 1102', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 102-109.
200. J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, New York, 1966, pp. 54-60 and Note 85 (pp. 310-311).
201. R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges. Italian Merchants, Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers. A Study in the Origins of Banking*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, pp. 30-31 and *passim*.
202. G. Ring, 'St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot', in *The Art Bulletin*, xxvii, 1945, pp. 188-154.
203. A. Feigl, 'Studien zum Isenheimer Altar und seiner Symbolik (Exkurs: Beziehungen Grünewalds zu Memling)', in *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, xiv, 1962, pp. 81-114 (107-110).
204. V. Denis, 'Le Théâtre et les Primitifs', in *L'Oeil*, No. 23, (November) 1956, pp. 18-27.
205. K. M. Birkmeyer, 'The Arch Motif in Netherlandish Painting of the Fifteenth Century. A Study in Changing Religious Imagery, 11', in *The Art Bulletin*, xliii, 1961, pp. 110-111.
206. J. S. Held, 'Artis Pictoriae Amator. An Antwerp Art Patron and his Collection', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th per., 1, 1957, pp. 74-84.
207. H. K. Röthel, 'Memlings Barthseba als Stuttgarter Leihgabe in der Pinakothek', *Die Weltkunst*, xxi, (15th June) 1951, p. 3.
208. E. Kunoth-Leifels, *Über die Darstellungen der 'Bathseba im Bade'. Studien zur Geschichte des Bildthemas 4. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Essen, 1962, pp. 28-29, and 80, Note 71.
209. H. Th. Musper, *Alt-niederländische Malerei von Eyck bis Bosch*, Cologne-New York, 1968, p. 36.
210. V. Denis, *De Muziekinstrumenten in de Nederlanden en in Italië naar hun Afbeelding in de 15e. Eeuwsche Kunst*, Louvain, 1944, pp. 125-139, 184, 188 and *passim*; R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel*, Berne-Munich, 1962; A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Les Anges Musiciens chez Memlinc', in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten—1962-63. Antwerpen*, Antwerp, pp. 5-55; G. Spiessens, 'Toepassing van Voorschriften voor de bouw van Muziekinstrumenten bij Memlinc', in *Jaarboek 1967. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, Antwerp, pp. 7-12; E. Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, London, (1967), pp. 47, 148-149 (Note 1), and *passim*; R. Wangermée, *La Musique Flamande dans la Société des xve et xvie siècles*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 196, 202, 203 and *passim*.
211. S. N. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study on Patronage*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969.
212. L. Behling, *Die Pflanze in der Mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, Weimar, 1957, pp. 32, 40 and 67 (Triptych Moreel, No. 12); pp. 36, 80, 151 (Last Judgment, No. 8).
213. P. Philippot, 'Les Grisailles et les "Degrés de Réalité" de l'Image dans la Peinture Flamande des xve et xvie siècles', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, xv, 1966, p. 231.
214. G. Michiels, *Iconografie der Stad Brugge*, 1, Bruges, 1964, p. 49; 11, Bruges, 1966, p. 104.
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217. L. D(evlieghe), 'De Kranebrug te Brugge', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis Gesticht onder de Benaming Sociëteit d'Emulation te Brugge*, XCIII, 1961, pp. 131-132.
218. Cf. Note 188.
219. Cf. Note 189; p. 89 and fig. 6. It is now possible to hope for new rewarding investigations on underdrawing in early Netherlandish paintings, see J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, *Infrared Reflectography. A Contribution to the Examination of Earlier European Paintings*, Amsterdam, 1970.
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221. See p. 35.
222. M. J. Friedländer, 'The Memling Exhibition at Bruges', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, p. 124.
223. 'L'Affaissement dans l'Art de Jean Memling', see L. van Puyvelde, *La Peinture Flamande au Siècle des van Eyck*, Paris, Brussels..., 1953, pp. 253-271.
224. 'Memling n'est souvent qu'un faiseur de jolies images dont la fadeur est parfois près d'écœurer', see Ibidem, p. 254.
225. 'On a exagéré la valeur de Memling', see L. van Puyvelde *Les Primitifs Flamands*, Brussels, 1959, p. 47.
226. 'Né vieux, l'art du peintre brugeois ne pouvait ignorer la décadence', see G. Bazin, *Memling*, Paris, 1939, p. 25.
227. 'Une insipide série d'embarquements et de débarquements', Ibidem, p. 25.
228. Ibidem, p. 37.
229. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 347.
230. Ibidem, pp. 347-350.
231. Ibidem, p. 348.
232. Ibidem, p. 350.
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237. Ibidem, pp. 168-180.
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239. G. T. Faggini, 'L'Opera Completa di Hans Memling' (*Classici dell'Arte*), Milan, 1969, pp. 9 and 85.
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241. H. W. von Löhneysen, *Die Ältere Niederländische Malerei. Künstler und Kritiker*, Eisenach, Kassel, 1956, pp. 336-360.
242. *Musée Communal-Bruges. Fiamminghi e Italia. Juillet-Août 1951* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1951), Nos. 12 (F. 4 A), 13 (F. 61), 14 (F. 23 B) and 15 (F. 77); *Musée Communal-Bruges. Le Portrait dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1953), Nos. 13 (Supp. 231), 14 (F. 12) and 15 (F. 14); *Musée Communal-Groeninge-Bruges. L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Britanniques. Août-Septembre 1956* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1956), Nos. 11 (F. 100) and 12 (F. 51); *Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, Groeninge-Bruges. L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Espagnoles. Juillet-Août 1958* (cat. publ. in Bruges, 1958), Nos. 6 (F. 13) and 7 (Add. 255); *Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands, Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge). 26 juin-11 Septembre 1960* (cat. publ. in Bruges, 1960, text by H. Pauwels, a.o.), Nos. 35 (Supp. 233), 36 (Add. 261), 37 (F. 39), 38 (F. 2), 39 (F. 11), 40 (F. 5), 41 (F. 94), 42 (F. 93), 43 (F. 12), 44 (F. 80), 45 (F. 14), 46 (F. 24) and 47 (F. 18).
243. *Le Grand Siècle des Ducs de Bourgogne. Musée de Dijon. Palais des Ducs de Bourgogne* (cat. publ. in Dijon, 1951), Nos. 23 (Supp. 228), 24 (F. 67), 25 (F. 68), 26 (F. 12), 27 (F. 15) and 28 (F. 25); *Rijksmuseum. Amsterdam. Bourgondische Pracht... 28 Juli-1 October 1951* (cat. publ. in Amsterdam, 1951), Nos. 24 (Supp. 228), 25 (F. 67), 26 (F. 68), 39 (F. 12), 40 (F. 25) and 41 (F. 15); *Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles. Le Siècle de Bourgogne. 13 Octobre-16 Décembre 1951* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1951), Nos. 24 (Supp. 228), 25 (F. 67), 26 (F. 68), 27 (F. 12), 28 (F. 15) and 29 (F. 25); *Palais des Beaux-Arts-Bruxelles. Gloires des Communes Belges-15 Octobre-15 Décembre 1960* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1960), Nos. 137 (F. 94) and 138 (F. 12).
244. *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1960, text by J. Folie and L. Ninane, a.o.), Nos. 30 (F. 2), 31 (F. 14), 32 (F. 18), 33 (Add. 261), 34 (F. 39), 35 (Supp. 233), 36 (F. 80) and 37 (F. 93).
245. *Palazzo Strozzi. Catalogo della Mostra d'Arte Fiamminga e Olandese dei Secoli XV e XVI* (cat. publ. in Florence, 1948), text by C. L. and L. C. Ragghianti, Sala III, Nos. 2 (F. 23 C), 3 (F. 61), 4 (F. 23 B), 6 (F. 34), 7 (F. 89), 8 (F. 77), 9 (F. 90) and 10 (F. 88); Sala VI, Nos. 5 (F. 4 Ba).
246. *Exhibition of the King's Pictures. 1946-1947. Royal Academy of Arts, London* (cat. publ. in London, 1946), No. 157 (F. 91); *Flemish Art. 1300-1700. Winter Exhibition, 1953-1954. Royal Academy of Arts, London* (cat. publ. in London, 1953), Nos. 9 (F. 2), 24 (F. 48), 25 (Add. 258), 26 (F. 71), 27 (F. 10), 28 (F. 77), 29 (F. 91) 30 (F. 87), 33 (F. 35) and 42 (F. 100).
247. *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein. Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Luzern. 1948. 5. Juni bis 31. Oktober* (cat. publ. in Lucerne, 1948), Nos. 78 (F. 64) and 79 (F. 54).

248. *City of Manchester Art Gallery. Art Treasures Centenary. European Old Masters. 30th October to 31st December 1957* (cat. publ. in Manchester, 1957), Nos. 24 (Add. 258) and 36 (F. 100).

249. *Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. Les Primitifs Flamands. 5 Juin-7 Juillet 1947* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1947, text by L. van Puyvelde), Nos. 66 (F. 99A), 67 (F. 2), 68 (F. 5), 69 (F. 7), 70 (F. 45), 71 (F. 67), 72 (F. 68), 73 (16 A); *Petit Palais, Chefs d'œuvre de la Collection D.G. van Beuningen. 1952* (cat. publ. in Rotterdam, 1952, text by D. Hannema), Nos. 61 (F. 16 A) and 62 (F. 6); *Musée de l'Orangerie. Exposition de la Collection Lehman de New York. 1957* (cat. publ. in Paris, 1957), Nos. 41 (F. 74) and 42 (F. 26).

250. *Stadt Schaffhausen. Meisterwerke Flämischer Malerei. Hundert Gemälde aus der Blütezeit der Malerei in Flandern von Van Eyck bis Rubens. 17. September bis 3. Dezember 1955 im Museum zu Allerheiligen* (cat. publ. in Schaffhausen, 1955), Nos. 63 (Add. 257), 64 (F. 79), 65 (F. 21), 66 (F. 23B), 67 (F. 77) and 68 (F. 84).

251. *The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting ... Worcester Art Museum, February 23-March 12. John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, March 25-April 26, 1939* (cat. publ. in Philadelphia, 1939), Nos. 20 (F. 83), 21 (F. 45), 22 (F. 40), 23 (F. 27), 24 (Supp. 226) and 25 (F. 105).

252. (M. Bacs-Dondeyne, A. Janssens de Bisthoven, H. Pauwels, D. De Vos, a.o.), *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes. Maîtres aux Noms d'Emprunt des Pays-Bas Méridionaux du xve et du Début du xvie Siècle. Exposition Organisée par la Ville de Bruges au Groeningemuseum. 14 Juin-21 Septembre 1969...* (Catalogue avec Supplément scientifique), Bruges, 1969. A detailed review of this exhibition was written by N. Reynaud and J. Foucart in *Revue de l'Art*, viii, 1970, pp. 66-72.

253. H. Vollmer (ed. by), *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, xxxvii. *Meister mit Notnamen und Monogrammisten*, Leipzig, 1950.

254. *Ibidem*, p. 57.

255. H. Pauwels, 'Nouvelles Acquisitions. 1963. Triptyque du Maître de 1473', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, xii, 1963, pp. 102-103.

256. (H. Pauwels, a.o.), *Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands. Exposition organisée... au Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge). 26 Juin-11 Septembre 1960*, Bruges, 1960, p. 97, No. 33.

257. (J. Folie, a.o.), *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch. The Detroit Institute of Arts. October-December 1960*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 137-140, No. 29.

258. *Catalogue of Important Old Master Paintings... which will be sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby & Co.... 27th June 1962*, London, 1962, pp. 14-15, Lot 17.

259. [G. Marlier], *Galerie Robert Finck. Exposition 'Primitifs Flamands' et 'Maîtres du xvie au xixe siècle'*, (Brussels), 1962, s.p., No. 1 (with colour reproductions).

260. P. Philippot, 'La Fin du xve Siècle et les Origines d'une

Nouvelle Conception de l'Image dans la Peinture des Pays-Bas' in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, xi, 1962, p. 19.

261. H. Vey, 'Johann Peter Weyer. Seine Gemäldesammlung und seine Kunstliebe', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xxviii 1966, p. 172.

262. Cf. Note 253; p. 335.

263. Cf. Note 252; p. 29-46, Nos. 1 (F. 113), 2 (F. 118), 3 (F. 116), 4 (F. Add. 270), 5 (F. Add. 271), 6 (F. Add. 267), 7 (F. Supp. 234), 8 (F. 127), 9 (F. 121), 10 (F. 120) and 11 (Add. 269).

264. P. Bautier, 'Le Maître Brugéois de la Légende de Sainte Ursule', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, v, 1956, pp. 3-12.

265. G. Marlier, 'Le Maître de la Légende Sainte Ursule' in *Jaarboek 1964. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, Antwerp, 1965*, pp. 5-40; also *Idem*, 'De Meester van de Legende der Heilige Ursula', in *Nationaal Biographisch Woordenboek*, ii, Brussels, 1966, col. 544-548 (without catalogue, but with bibliography).

266. E.P. Richardson, 'A Fifteenth Century Altarpiece from Bruges', in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, xxix, 1959-1960, pp. 3-7.

267. C.T. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, i. *Corpus...*, 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 101-111.

268. T.A. Heinrich, 'The Lehman Collection', in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. xii, 1954, pp. 217-232.

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270. C. de Tolnay, 'Hugo van der Goes as Portrait Painter', in *The Art Quarterly*, vii, 1944, pp. 181-190.

271. G. Michiels, *Iconografie der Stad Brugge*, i, Bruges, 1964, p. 49, and ii, Bruges, 1966, pp. 103-104.

272. 'La Fin du xve Siècle...', 1962, p. 20.

273. F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 116-118.

274. See Note 171. *The Legend of St. Ursula*, No. 113, was on exhibition, though not listed in the Catalogue.

275. See Note 251; Nos. 26 (F. 134) and 27 (F. 121b).

276. See Note 245; Sala I, No. 9 (Add. 275).

277. *Musée Communal—Bruges. Le Portrait dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (cat. publ. in Brussels, 1953), Nos. 21 (F. 116), 22 (F. 113), 23 (Add. 271) and 24 (F. 136).

278. *Flemish Art. 1300-1700. Winter Exhibition, 1953-1954. Royal Academy of Arts, London* (cat. publ. in London, 1953), Nos. 38 and 40 (F. 113), 46 (Add. 271) and 47 (F. 116).

279. *Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge). 26 Juin-11 Septembre 1960* (cat. publ. in Bruges, 1960, text by H. Pauwels, a.o.), Nos. 48-49 (F. 113) and 50 (F. 114).

280. See Note 244; Nos. 39 (F. 113) and 40 (F. 114).

281. See Note 256; p. 34.

282. See Note 252, pp. 56-57 and 210. An *Annunciation* from the Antwerp Museum has been part of this exhibition (No. 17)

as by the Master of the Baroncelli Portraits. It is not included in the present volume.

283. (P. Murray), *Catalogue of the Lee Collection. Courtauld Institute of Art. University of London*, (rev. ed.), London, 1962, pp. 14-15.

284. F. Wormald, 'A Saint Identified in a Lee Picture', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, xxv, 1962, pp. 129-130.

285. K.G. Boon, 'Naar Aanleiding van Tekeningen van Hugo van der Goes en zijn School', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950-1951, pp. 82-101.

286. See Note 245; Sala II, No. 8.

287. See Note 277; Nos. 18-19. For this master, see also Add. 265.

288. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 121, No. 16c; 212, Nos. 140a and 140b; 214, Nos. 145d and 145e; 215, No. 145i.

289. See Note 253; pp. 203-204.

290. See Note 252; pp. 47-54 and 205-209. See also the preface by K. Arndt, pp. 17-24.

291. See Add. 277 to Add. 288; this is the highest number of *Addenda* for a single master up to now. The Master of St. Ursula comes close with 11 items, see Add. 266 to Add. 276.

292. N. Verhaegen, 'Un Important Retable du Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie Conservé à Tallinn', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), IV, 1961, pp. 142-154.

293. M. Lumiste, 'Lucia-Legendi Meistri Teos Tallinnas. Mustpeade Altari Autori Probleemist', in *Kunst* (Tallinn), II, 1961, pp. 32-42 (text in Estonian with Russian summary, pp. 64-65).

294. N. Verhaegen, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie. Précisions sur son Œuvre', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (Brussels), II, 1959, pp. 73-82.

295. N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 'La Vierge et l'Enfant au Cousin d'après Rogier van der Weyden', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XV, 1966, pp. 144-156.

296. See Note 294.

297. J. Lassigne, 'Les Primitifs Flamands à Bruges', in *L'Oeil*, No. 69, 1960, pp. 16-25 and 71-72.

298. C.T. Eisler, 'The Sittow Assumption', in *Art News*, (September), 1965, pp. 34-37 and 52-54.

299. C.T. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. Corpus..., 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 94-97. See also the reviews of Eisler by J.S. Held, in *The Art Bulletin*, xliiv, 1962, p. 345 and by K. Arndt, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1964, pp. 179-180.

300. A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Le Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. Corpus..., 1), 2nd rev. ed., Antwerp, 1959, pp. 114-117.

301. G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie, I. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II. Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes du Quinzième Siècle, 3), Brussels, 1968, pp. 40-41, No. 25. See also Nos. 18, p. 33 and 28, p. 44, certainly related to the Master of St. Lucy, but too

marginal to be included here as *Addenda*.

302. (W.E. Suida), *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection. Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1945-1951. National Gallery of Art, Washington*, 1951, p. 182, No. 80.

303. H. Pauwels, *Groeningemuseum. Catalogus. Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Brugge, Bruges*, 1960, pp. 38-39 (French ed. 1963).

304. F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 155-159.

305. B. de Gaiffier, 'Recherches sur l'Iconographie de Ste. Barbe', in *Bulletin du Centre International des Etudes Romanes*, III, 1960, p. 13.

306. C. Van den Bergen, 'L'Héraldique au Service de l'Etude d'un Tableau Flamand à Lugano', in *Archivum Heraldicum*, 4, 1966.

307. G. Michiels, *Iconografie der Stad Brugge*, I, Bruges, 1964, pp. 46-49.

308. E. Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*, London, (1967), pp. 145-149. Plate 67 shows two detail photographs of the music sheets held by the angels.

309. P. Philippot, 'La Fin du xve Siècle et les Origines d'une Nouvelle Conception de l'Image dans la Peinture des Pays-Bas', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XI, 1962, pp. 3-38.

310. See Note 251; No. 28 (F. 157).

311. See Note 246; 1946-47, No. 173 (deest Friedländer); 1953-54, No. 67 (Add. 280).

312. See Note 249; No. 62 (F. 155).

313. See Note 245; Sala III, No. 12 (Add. 279) and Sala IV, No. 10 (F. 158).

314. See Note 244; Nos. 41 (F. 154) and 42 (F. 141).

315. *Nederlandse Primitieven uit Nederlands Particulier Bezit. 1 Juli-10 September 1961. Singer Museum-Laren (N.H.)*, Amsterdam, 1961, Nos. 75 (Add. 286) and 63 (Add. 281).

316. See Note 242; 1953: No. 20 (Add. 280); 1956: No. 21 (Supp. 241); 1960: Nos. 52 (F. 139) and 53 (F. 154); 1969: 12 (F. 139), 13 (Supp. 245 and Add. 280), 14 (F. 152B), 15 (F. 155).

317. M.J. Friedländer, 'The Bruges Master of St. Augustine', in *Art in America*, xxv, 1937, pp. 47-54.

318. See Note 253; p. 28.

319. See Note 183; p. 114-117.

320. See Note 294.

321. H. Pauwels, *Groeningemuseum. Catalogus. Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Brugge, Bruges*, 1960, pp. 38-39 (French ed. 1963).

322. (M. Baes-Dondeyne, A. Janssens de Bisthoven, H. Pauwels, D. De Vos, a.o.), *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes. Maîtres aux Noms d'Emprunt des Pays-Bas Méridionaux du xve et du début du xvie Siècle. Exposition Organisée par la Ville de Bruges au Groeningemuseum. 14 Juin-21 Septembre 1969...* (Catalogue avec Supplément Scientifique), Bruges, 1969, p. 54.

323. G. Michiels, *Iconografie der Stad Brugge*, I, Bruges, 1964, p. 48.

324. J. and P. Courcelle, 'Iconographie de Saint Augustin.

Les Cycles du xve Siècle' (*Etudes Augustiniennes*), Paris, 1969, pp. 143-150.

325. See Note 252; No. 16, pp. 55 and 209-210.

326. (A. Morassi), *Trittico Fiammingo a San Lorenzo della Costa*, Florence, 1947. With bibliography.

327. (A. Morassi, a cura di), *Catalogo della 'Mostra della Pittura Antica in Liguria' a Genova*, Milano, 1946, pp. 51-52.

328. *Musée Communal-Bruges. Fiamminghi e Italia. Juillet-Août 1951*, Brussels, 1951, p. 39, No. 16. It seems to be by mistake that the *Mass of St. Peter in Novi Ligure* (Add. 293) is attributed in this catalogue to the Master of San Lorenzo.

329. R. dos Santos, in *Arts*, August 10, 1951. His opinion is taken over in the Italian catalogue of the same exhibition: *I Fiamminghi e l'Italia... Venezia, Palazzo Ducale: Settembre 1951. Roma: Ottobre-Novembre 1951*, Venezia, s.d. (1951), p. 37.

330. J.G. van Gelder, 'Fiamminghi e Italia' at Bruges, Venice and Rome, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xciii, 1951, p. 327.

331. Not to be confused with the Master of St. John the Baptist, a painter apparently from Gouda. See (A. van Schendel, a.o.), *150 Jaar Rijksmuseum Jubileumtentoonstelling. Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden. Amsterdam, 28 Juni/28 September 1958*, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 72.

332. M.J. Friedländer, 'Drei Niederländische Maler in Genua', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Lxi, 1927-28, pp. 273-279. See Supp. 247, Supp. 248, Supp. 249, Add. 292, Add. 293, Add. 294.

333. G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, 's-Gravenhage, 1937, pp. 432-443.

334. See Note 253; p. 112.

335. See Note 245; pp. 28, 29: Sala v, Nos. 1 and 3-6.

336. See Note 332.

337. See Note 253; p. 331.

338. C. Aru and E. de Geradon, 'La Galerie Sabauda de Turin' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 2), Antwerp, 1952, pp. 28-31.

339. See Note 245; pp. 19, 20: Sala III, Nos. 19 and 20 (Add. 296); p. 26: Sala IV, No. 6 (Supp. 250).

340. *Musée Communal de Bruges. Gérard David, 18 Juin-21 Août, 1949*, Brussels, 1949; *Gerard David and His Followers*, (Wildenstein and Co.), London, 1949.

341. J.G. van Gelder, 'The Gerard David Exhibition at Bruges', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xc1, 1949, pp. 253-254.

342. J. Lavalleye, 'Les Peintres Flamands du xve Siècle et l'Italie (En Marge de Deux Expositions)', in *Les Arts Plastiques*, May-June, 1949, pp. 171-180.

343. Th. van de Walle de Ghelcke, 'Propos sur l'exposition Gérard David et son Catalogue', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap 'Société d'Emulation' te Brugge*, LXXxvi, 1949, pp. 219-224.

344. K.G. Boon, 'Gerard David' (*Palet Serie*), Amsterdam, (1946).

345. J. Lavalleye, 'La Peinture et l'Enluminure des Origines à la Fin du xve Siècle', in P. Fierens (under the direction of), *L'Art en Belgique du Moyen Age à nos Jours*, Brussels, s.d. (3rd. ed., 1956), pp. 151-156.

346. L. van Puyvelde, *La Peinture Flamande au Siècle des van*

Eyck, Paris, Bruxelles..., 1953, pp. 277-289.

347. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 350-352.

348. M. Whinney, *Early Flemish Painting*, London, 1968, pp. 109-115.

349. H.T. Musper, *Altniederländische Malerei von Eyck bis Bosch*, Cologne and New York, 1968, pp. 38-39 and 112.

350. M.J. Friedländer, *Essays über die Landschaftsmalerei und andere Bildgattungen*, The Hague, 1947, pp. 43-45.

351. *Early Netherlandish Paintings...*, p. 351.

352. S.J. Gudlaugsson, 'David Gerard', in *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon*, II, Zurich, (1965), pp. 34-37.

353. R.A. Parmentier, 'Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis van het Brugsche Schildersmilieu in de xvie Eeuw. xxi, Gerard David', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xii, 1942, pp. 5-19.

354. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson et la Peinture à Bruges au Temps de Charles-Quint*, Damme, 1957, pp. 15-19.

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412. See Note 250; Nos. 18 (F. 189), 19 (Add. 299), 20 (F. 186).

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M. (copy) Virgin Weeping: 41c

—, Schiff auction, 1905, see GLASGOW, Art Gallery and Museum, The Burrell Collection (32)

—, Bottenwieser Gallery, see BIRMINGHAM, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University (Supp. 238)

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—, Kleinberger Gallery (1910)
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—, Jamarin Gallery, see AMSTERDAM, Private collection (148)

—, Dr. Wendland Gallery, see THE HAGUE, Cramer Gallery (Supp. 243)

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M. (copy) Virgin Weeping: 41b

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—, Palazzo Doria

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M. L. S. L. Virgin and Child with Two Angels: Add. 287

—, Fondi auction, see WILLIAMSTOWN, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (149)

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ROTTERDAM, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

M. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Central Panel: 6

M. Shutter, Horses and Ape: 16A

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—, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Koenigs collection

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—, van Beuningen collection, see Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (16A)

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SAN DIEGO, Calif., Timken Art Gallery, Putnam Foundation Collection

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M. (copy) Panel of a Diptych, Mourners: 13b

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D. (copy) Adoration of the Magi: 182a

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M. (copy) Virgin Weeping: 41d

D. (copy) Virgin and Child: 206c

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STUTTGART, Staatsgalerie

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TOPSFIELD, Mass., William A. Coolidge collection

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M. Passion of Christ: 34

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M. L. S. U. Virgin and Child with an Angel (where now?): 126

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M. Francisco de Royas, Left Shutter of a Triptych(?): Supp. 228 A

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M. F. Sts. Isidor and Leander, Shutters of a Triptych: 105

VENICE, Gallerie dell'Accademia, see Cà d'Oro (4Ba)

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M. (copy) Crucifixion: (4Ba)

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—, Seminario, see Pinacoteca Manfrediana (132)

VICENZA, Museo Civico

M. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Central Panel: 4A

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M. (copy) Shutters of an Altarpiece of the Crucifixion: see

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M. Altarpiece of the Virgin: 9

D. Altarpiece of St. Michael: 166

D. Portrait of a Goldsmith: 224

—, Von Auspitz collection, see HOUSTON, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts (93)

—, C. Castiglioni collection, see LONDON, auction at Sotheby's, 24th June 1964 (174)

—, Czernin collection, see WASHINGTON, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection (99 B)

—, Baron van der Elst collection, see NEW YORK, The Frick Collection (Supp. 231)

—, Dr. A. Figdor collection, see BERLIN, Figdor auction, 29/30 September 1930 (104a)

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—, A. Lederer collection, see BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (118)

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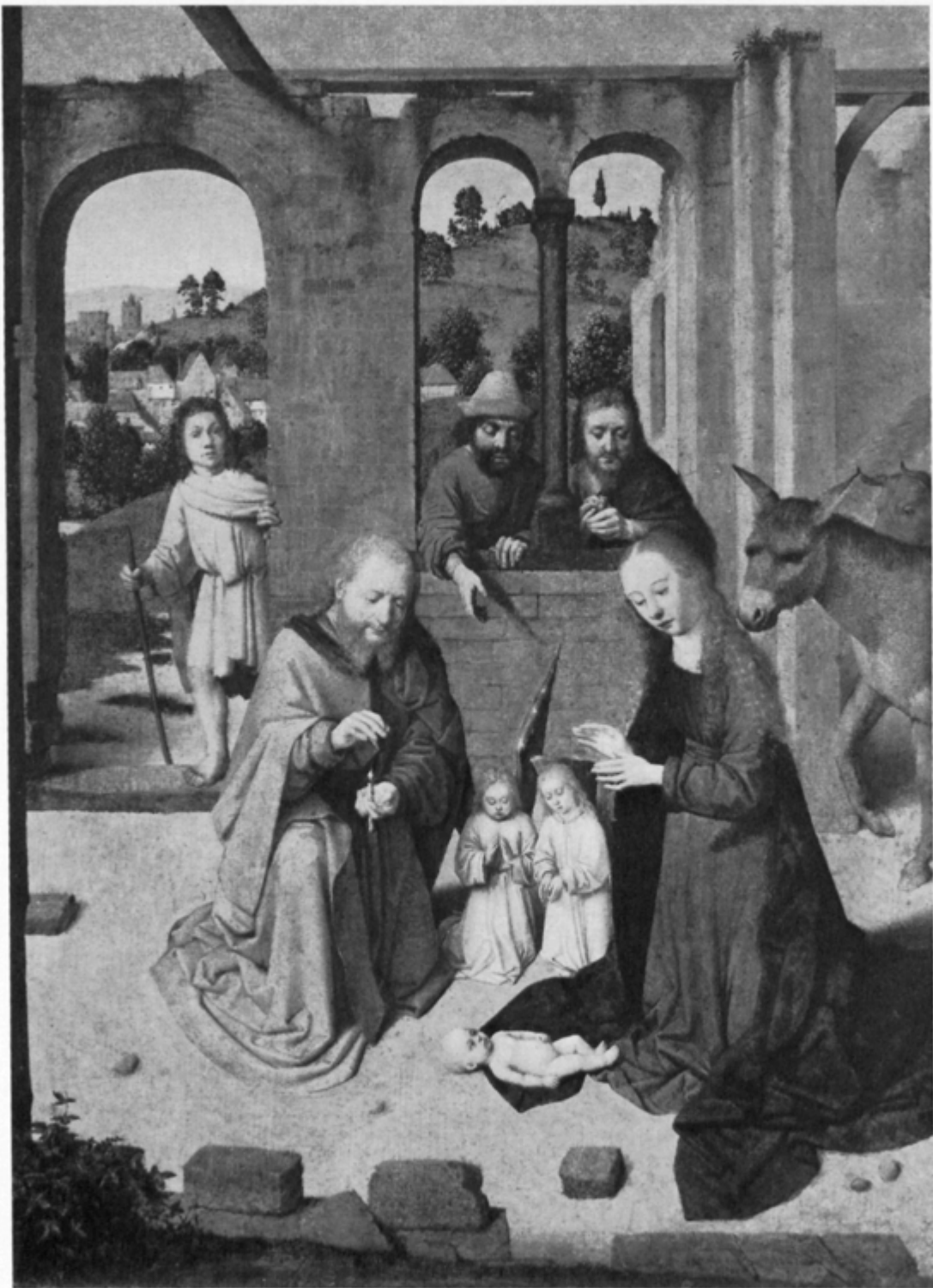
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159. David. Altarpiece of the Nativity, Centrepiece. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection*



160. David. Altarpiece of the Nativity. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules S. Bache Collection; Reverse, Landscape. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis



160. David. Altarpiece of the Nativity, Centrepiece. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules S. Bache Collection*



160. David. Altarpiece of the Nativity, Reverse with Landscape. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis*



161. David. Altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Groeninge Museum)



161. David. Altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ, Centrepiece. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*



161. David. Altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ, Shutter, Donors and Saints. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*



161. David. Altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ, Reverse, Virgin and Child, Donatrix, her Daughter and St. Mary Magdalene. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Groeninge Museum)



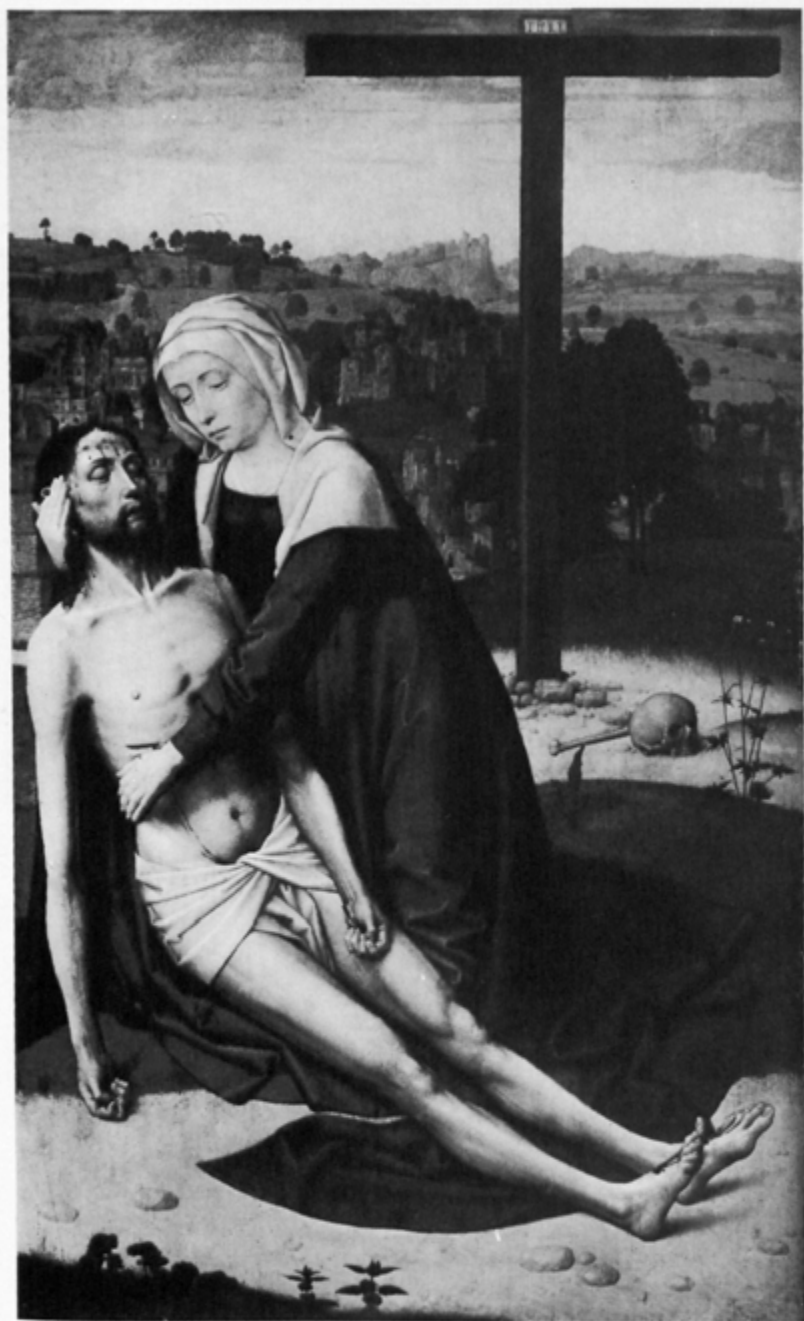
162. David. Altarpiece, *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. London, *National Gallery*; *Shutters, Jews and Soldiers, Mourners*. Antwerp, *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



162. David. Altarpiece, Christ Nailed to the Cross, Shutters, Jews and Soldiers, Mourners. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



163. David. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Centrepiece. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection*; Shutters, Bearing of the Cross, Resurrection; Reverse, Annunciation. *New York, The Robert Lehman Collection*



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164. David. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de San Lorenzo*



165. David. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. Paris, Musée du Louvre



165. David. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Centrepiece. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



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166. David. Altarpiece of St. Michael. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



166. David. Altarpiece of St. Michael, Centrepiece. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



166. David. Altarpiece of St. Michael, Reverse. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



167. David. Altarpiece of St. Anne. *Washington, National Gallery of Art. Three Panels with the Legend of St. Nicholas. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. Three Panels with the Legend of St. Anthony of Padua. Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art*



167. David. Altarpiece of St. Anne, Centrepiece. *Washington, National Gallery of Art*



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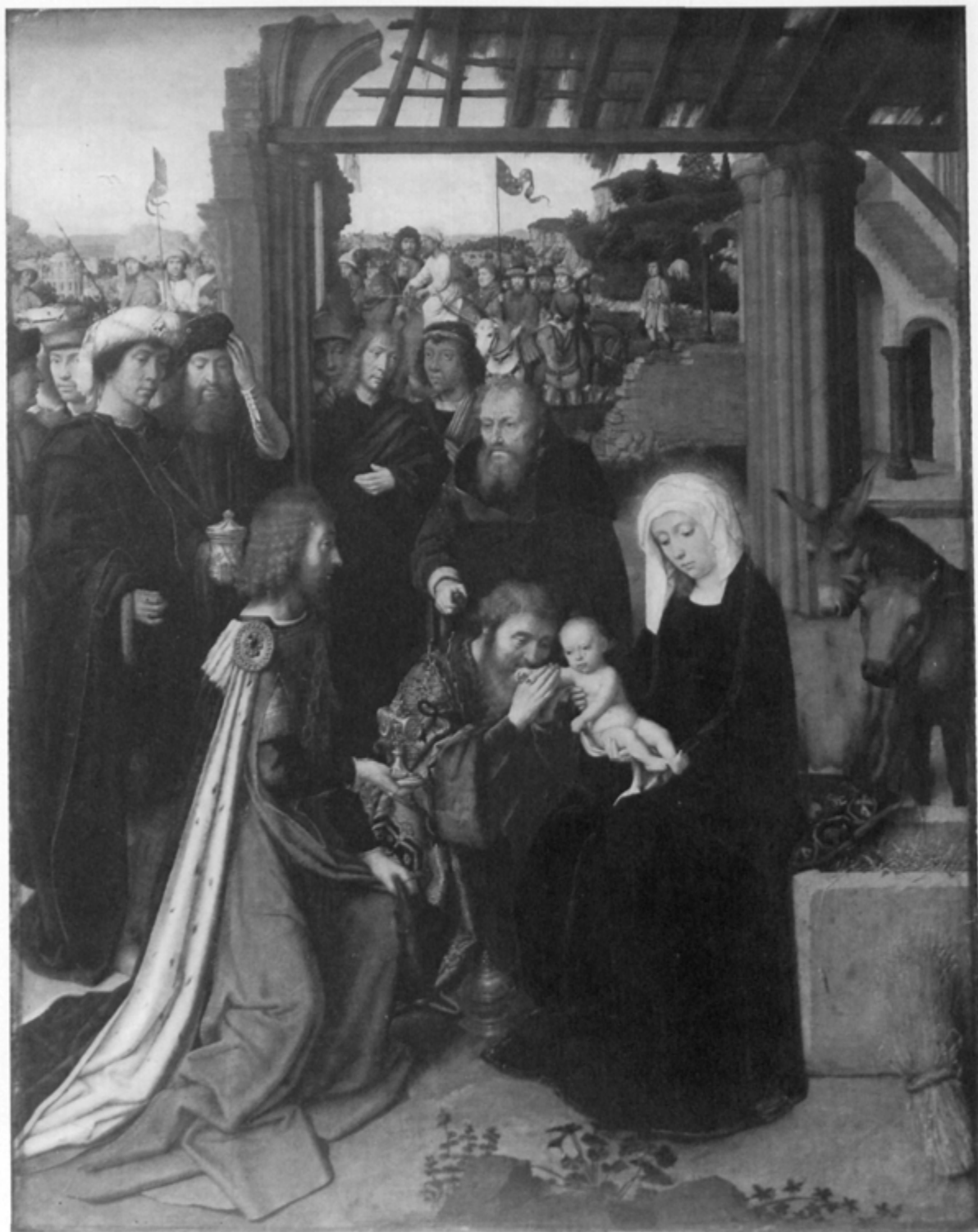


175. David. Annunciation. *Detroit, Mich., Institute of Arts.* 176. David. Annunciation. *Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut.* 174. David. Two Shutters, Sts. Jerome and Augustine. *London, sold at Sotheby's, 1964*

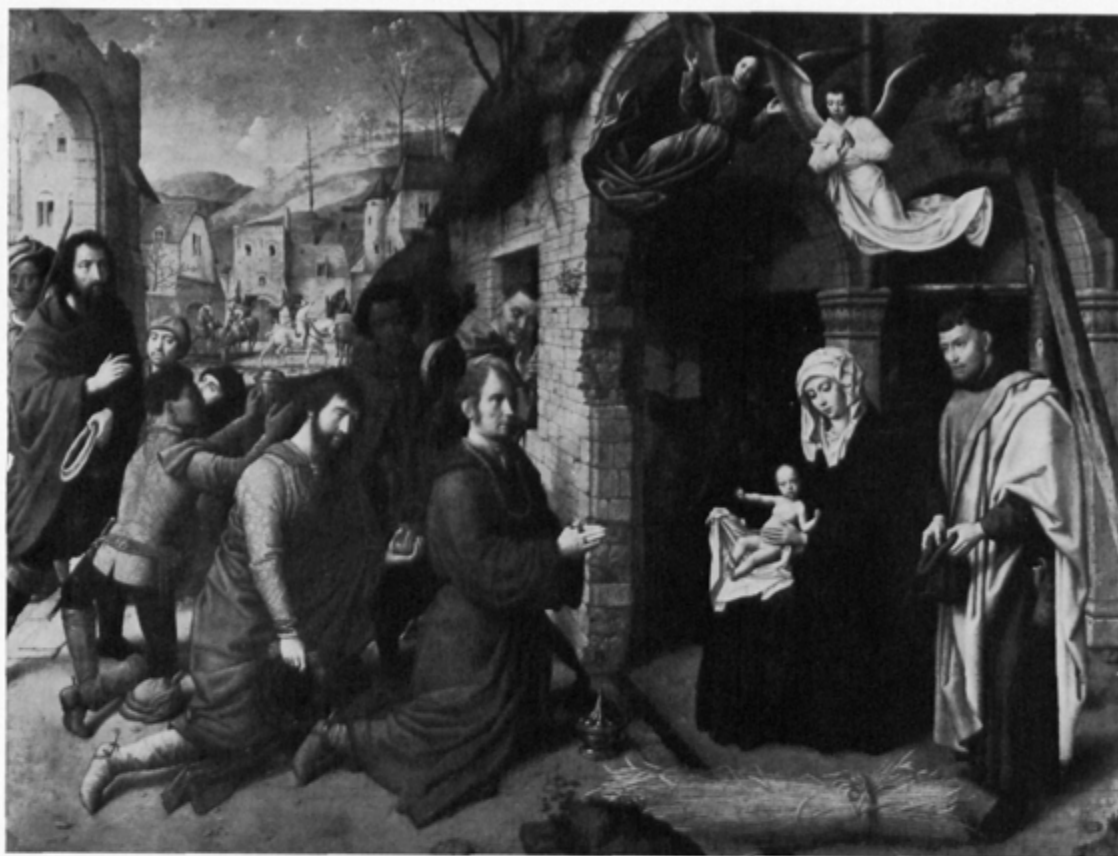


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177. David. Nativity. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. 178. David. Nativity. Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Collection. 179. David. Adoration of the Magi. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi



180. David. Adoration of the Magi. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



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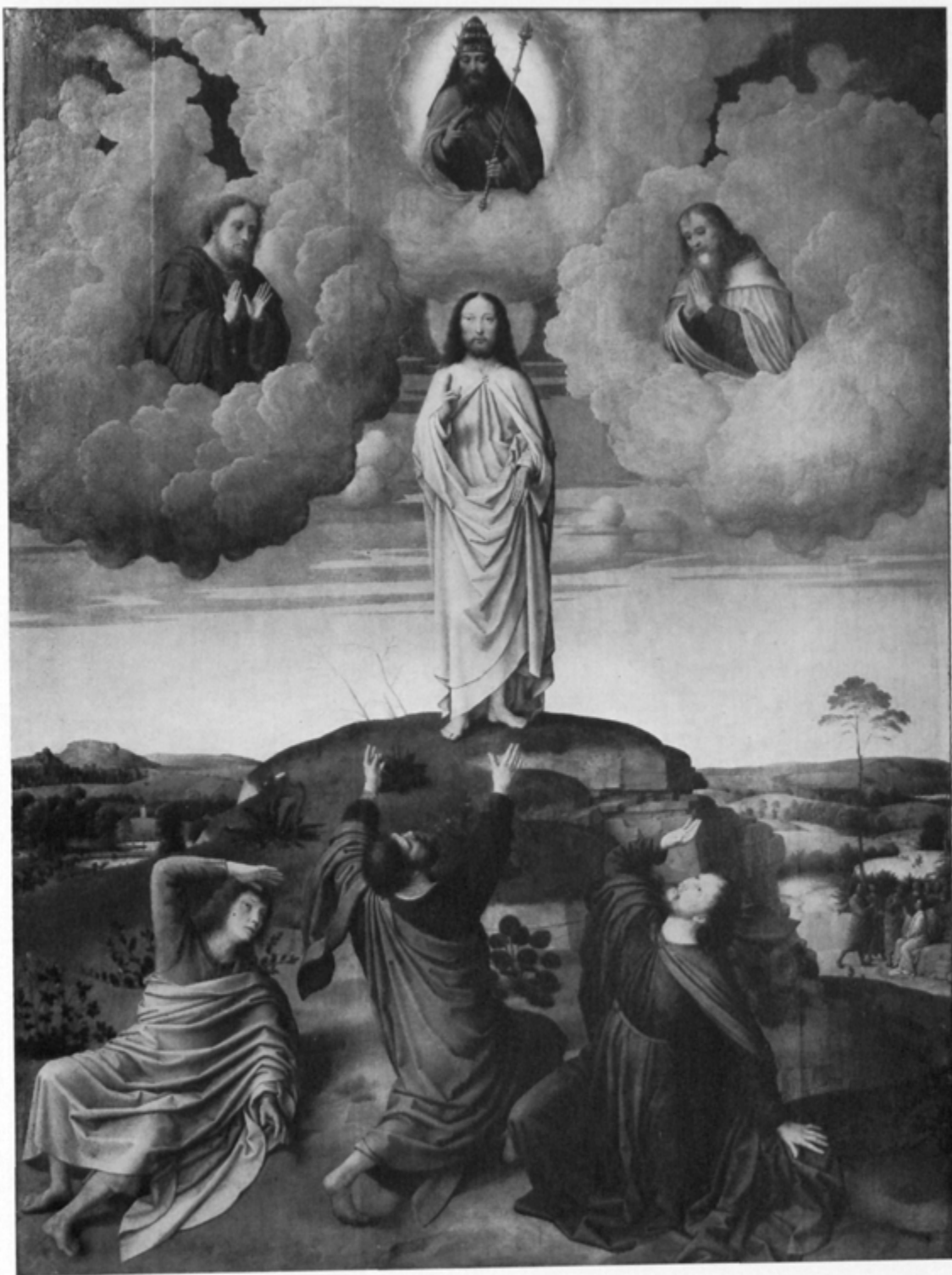


182. David. Adoration of the Magi. *London, National Gallery*



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183 b

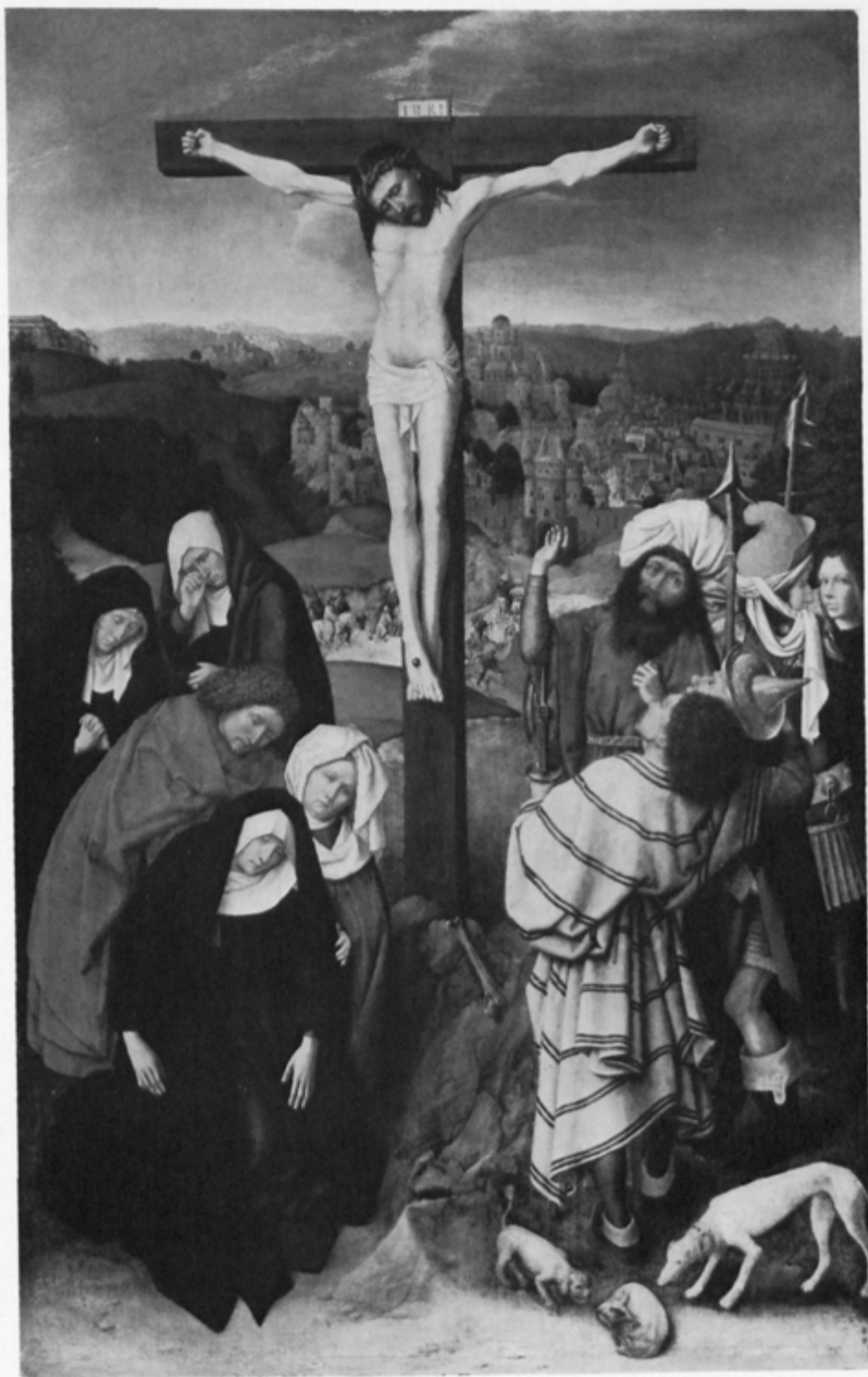
183. David. The Marriage at Cana. Paris, Musée du Louvre. 183 b. David, copy. The Marriage at Cana. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



184. David. Transfiguration. Bruges, Church of Notre-Dame



185. David. Crucifixion. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen

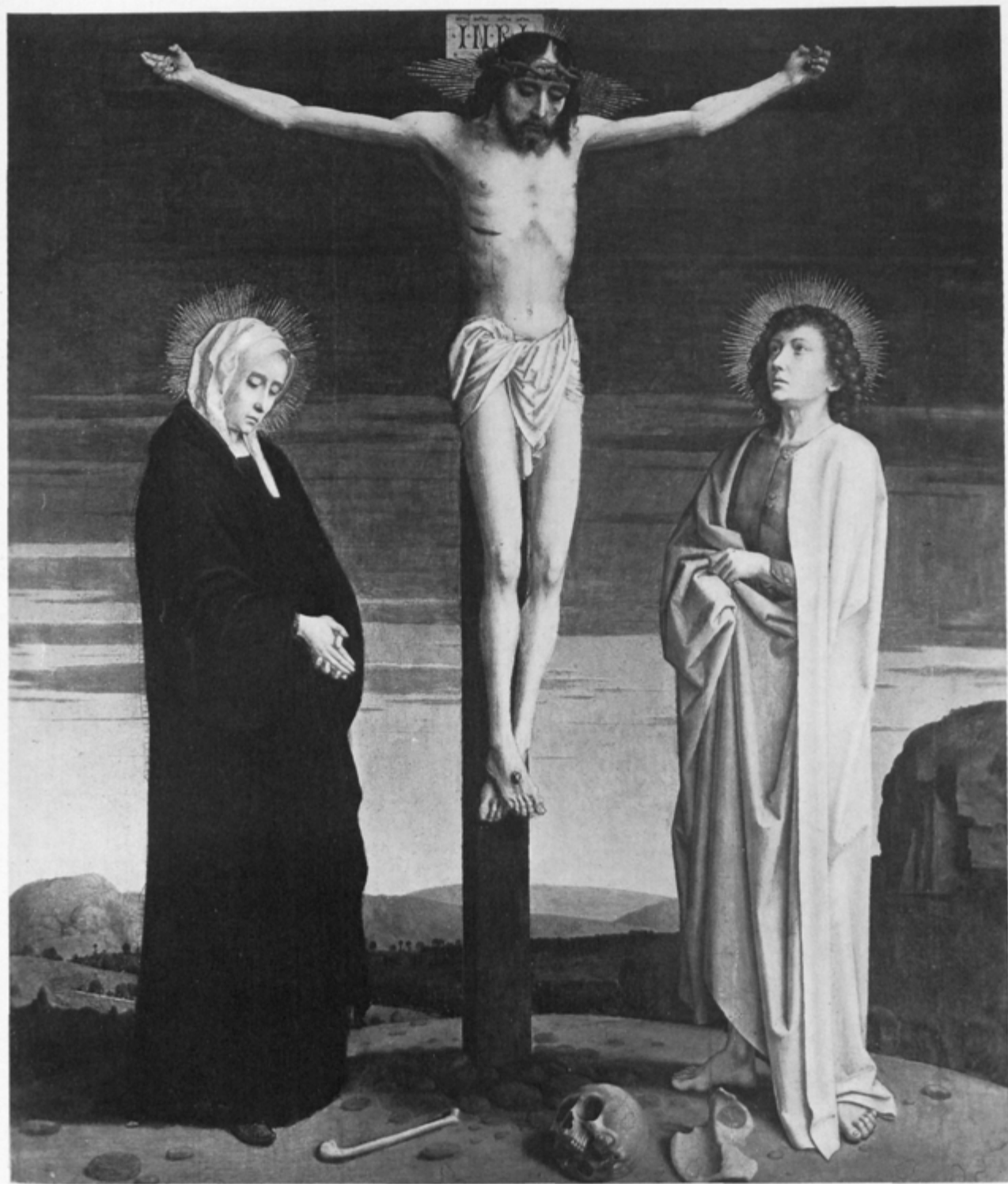


186. David. *Cruxifixion*. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation



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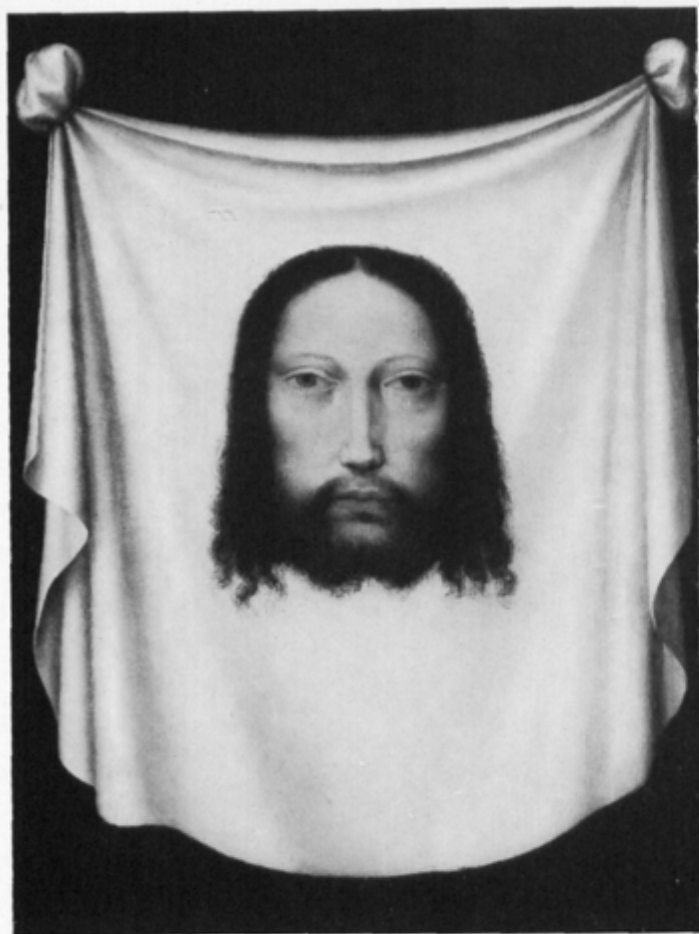


196. David. The Tree of Jesse. Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts



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197. David. Lamentation. Otterlo, *Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller*. 198. David. Christ Standing. Dublin, *National Gallery of Ireland*. 197 a. David, copy. Lamentation. Edinburgh, *National Gallery of Scotland*



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206. David. *Virgin and Child*. *Present location unknown*



206 a. David, replica. Virgin and Child. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



206 b. David, replica. Virgin and Child. Genoa, Palazzo Bianco



206 d. David. *Virgin and Child*. Fullerton, California, Norton Simon Foundation



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206 c. David, copy. Virgin and Child. Strasbourg, *Musées de la Ville*. 206 c. David, copy. Holy Family. Present location unknown. 207 a. David, copy. Virgin and Child. Merion Station, Pa., *The Barnes Foundation*



207. David. Virgin and Child. *Granada, Iglesia del Sacro Monte*



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214. David. *Virgin and Child*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, A. Mellon Collection



215. David. Virgin Enthroned with Female Saints. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts



215. David. Virgin Enthroned with Female Saints, Detail. Rouen, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*



215. David. *Virgin Enthroned with Female Saints*, Detail. Rouen, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*





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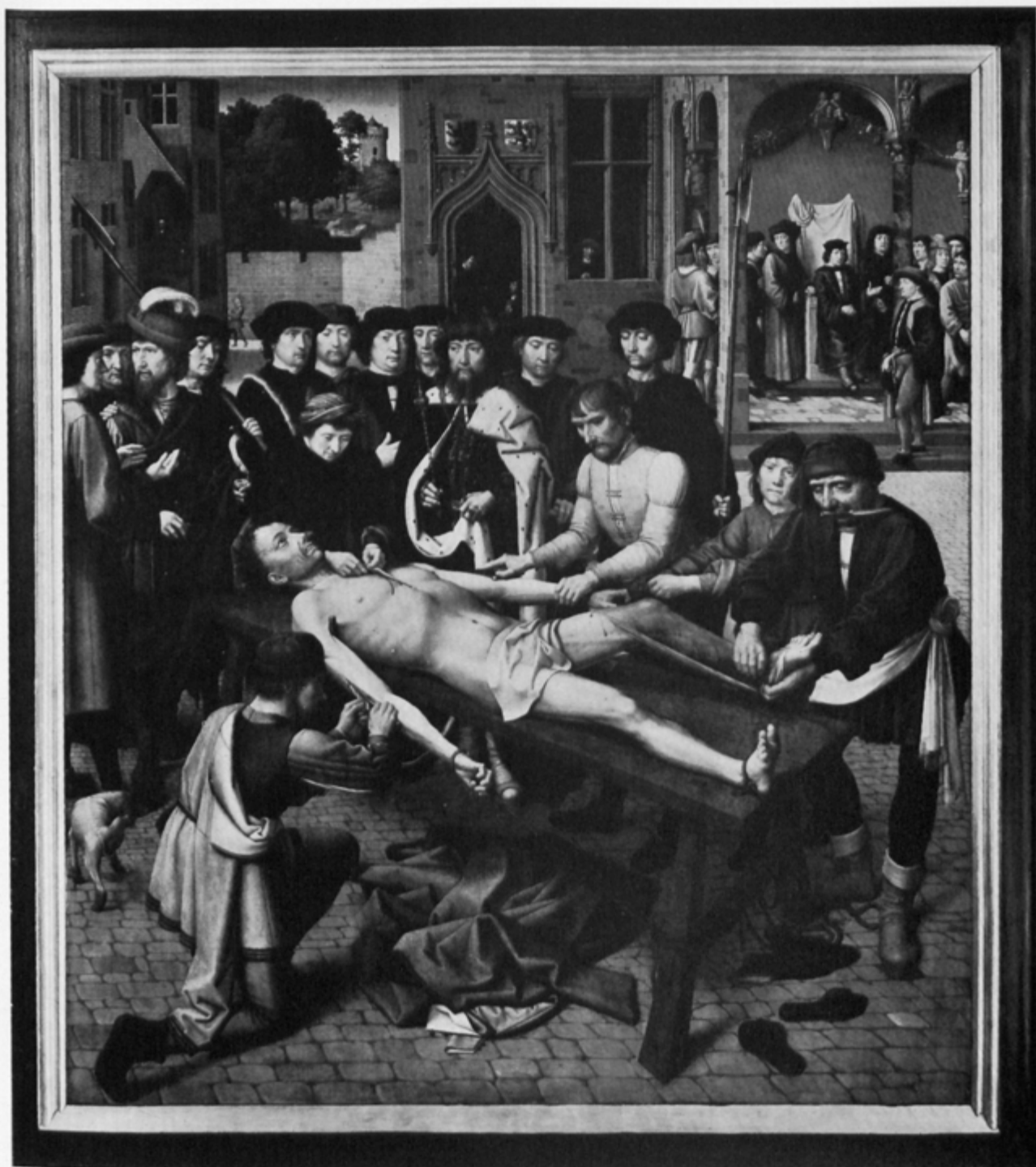
217. David, after the Master of Flemalle. Virgin and Child. *New York*, Mrs. Lucile E. Selz Collection. 218. David. Holy Family. *Present location unknown*. 218 a. David, replica. Holy Family. *Cologne*, Kunstgewerbemuseum, *W. Clemens Collection*



219. David. Bernardino de Salviatis with Sts. Bernardinus, Martin and Donatian. *London, National Gallery*



222. David. Diptych. Two Justice Panels, Cambyses Arresting the Judge Sisamnes. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Groeninge Museum)

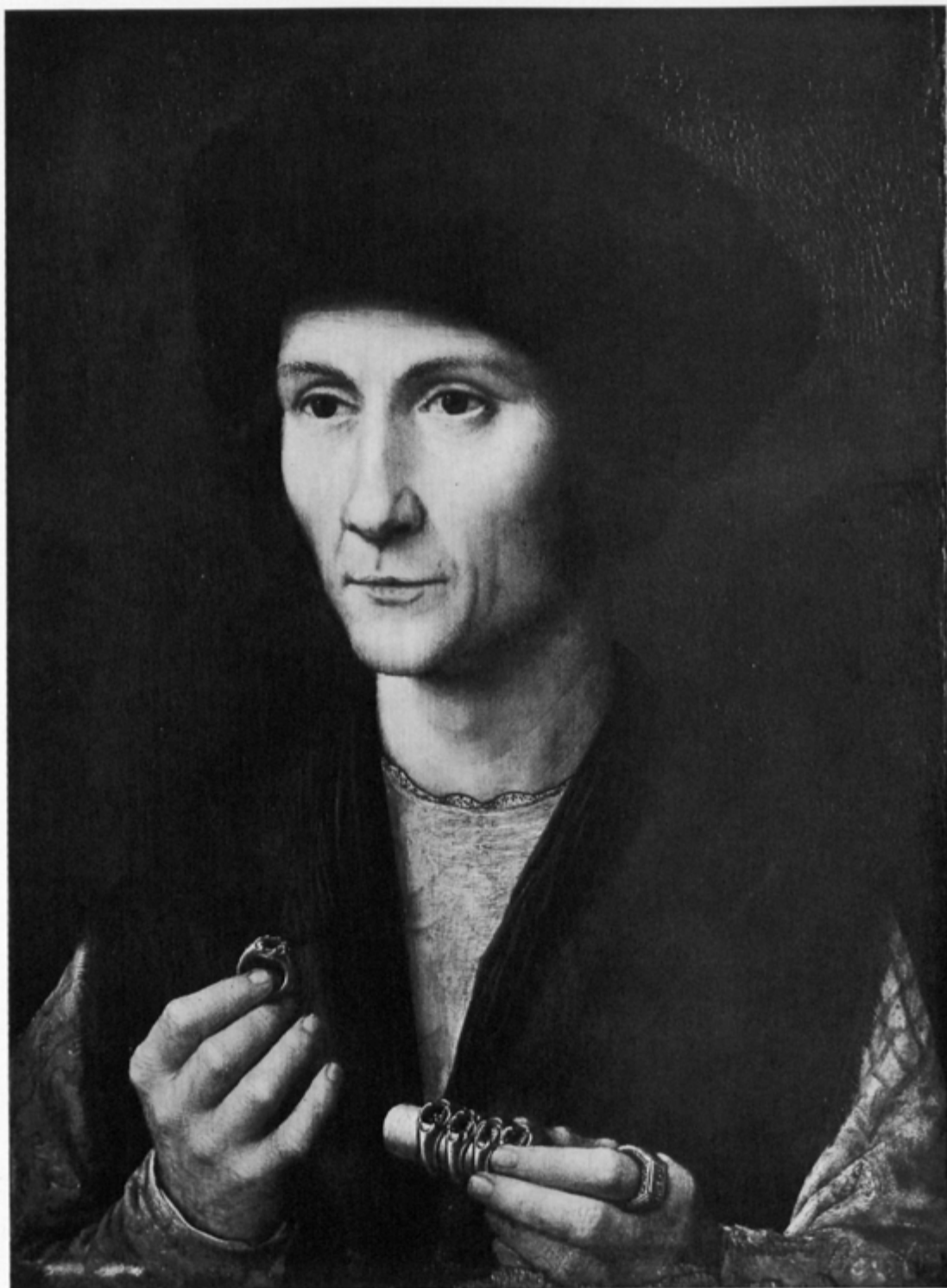


222. David. Diptych. Two Justice Panels, Execution of Sisamnes. Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)



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224. David. Portrait of a Goldsmith. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



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David. Drawings. A. Two Heads and Verso, Man Standing. *Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut.* B. Four Heads and Verso, Head of a Man. *Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins*



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David. Drawings. A. Three Heads. Cracow, National Museum, Czartoryski Collection. B. Young Girl. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. C. Young Girl. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Edm. de Rothschild Collection. D. Elderly Woman. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. E. Man with the Turban. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans van Beuningen



A	B
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David. Drawings. A. Portrait of an Elderly Man. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. B. Hands. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. C. Head of a Young Man. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. D. Four Heads, after the Ghent Altarpiece. Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada

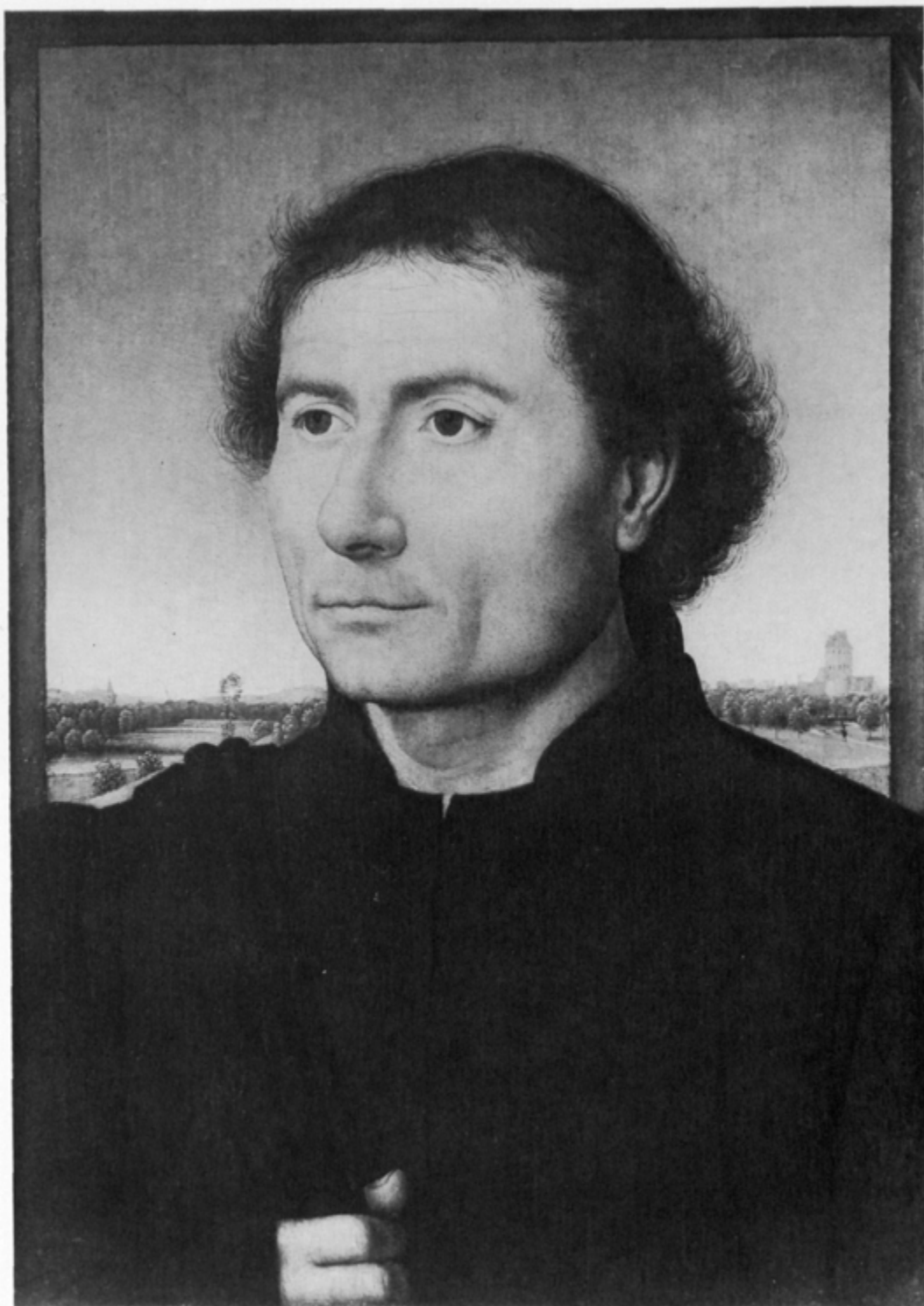


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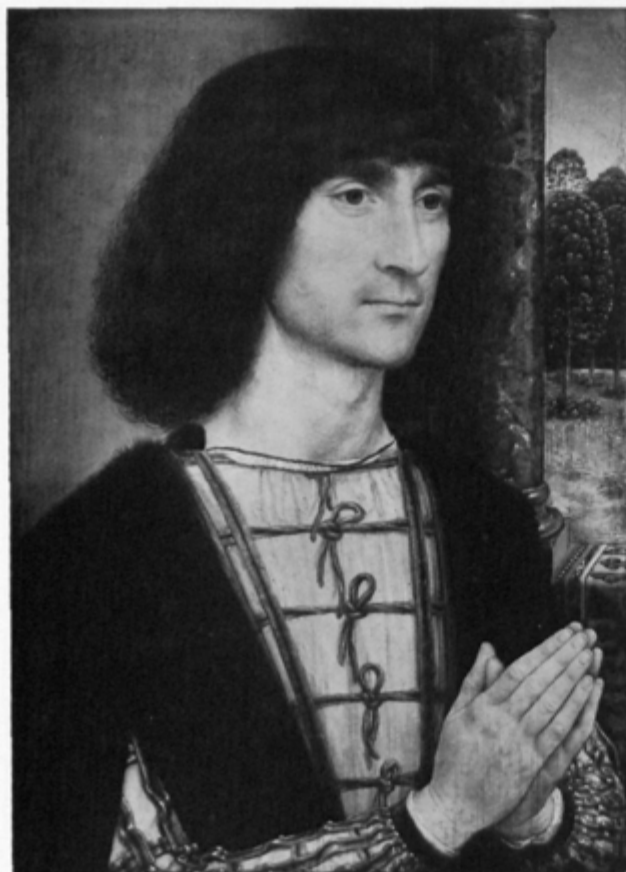
Supp. 226. Memlinc. *Virgin and Child*. *Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art*. Supp. 227. Memlinc. *Virgin and Child with two Angels*. *Present location unknown*



Supp. 228. Memlinc. Two Shuttters. Francisco de Royas. U.S.A., *Private Collection*. Portrait of a Girl, Fragment. Paris, *Private Collection*



Supp. 231. Memling. Portrait of a Man. New York, *The Frick Collection*



Supp. 232. Memling. Portrait of a Man; Verso, Flowers. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*



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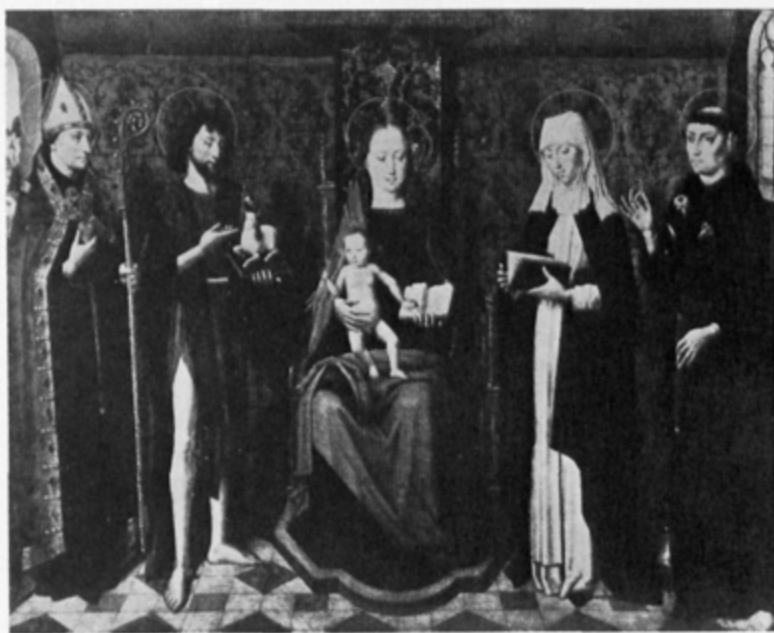
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Supp. 244. Master of the Legend of St. Augustine. Altarpiece of the Legend of St. Augustine, Right Shutter. *Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland*; Verso of one of the Shutters, Fragment. *Aachen, Suermondt-Museum*



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Add. 280		Add. 280

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Supp. 250. Master of the Turin Adoration. Adoration of the Magi. Turin, Galleria Sabauda





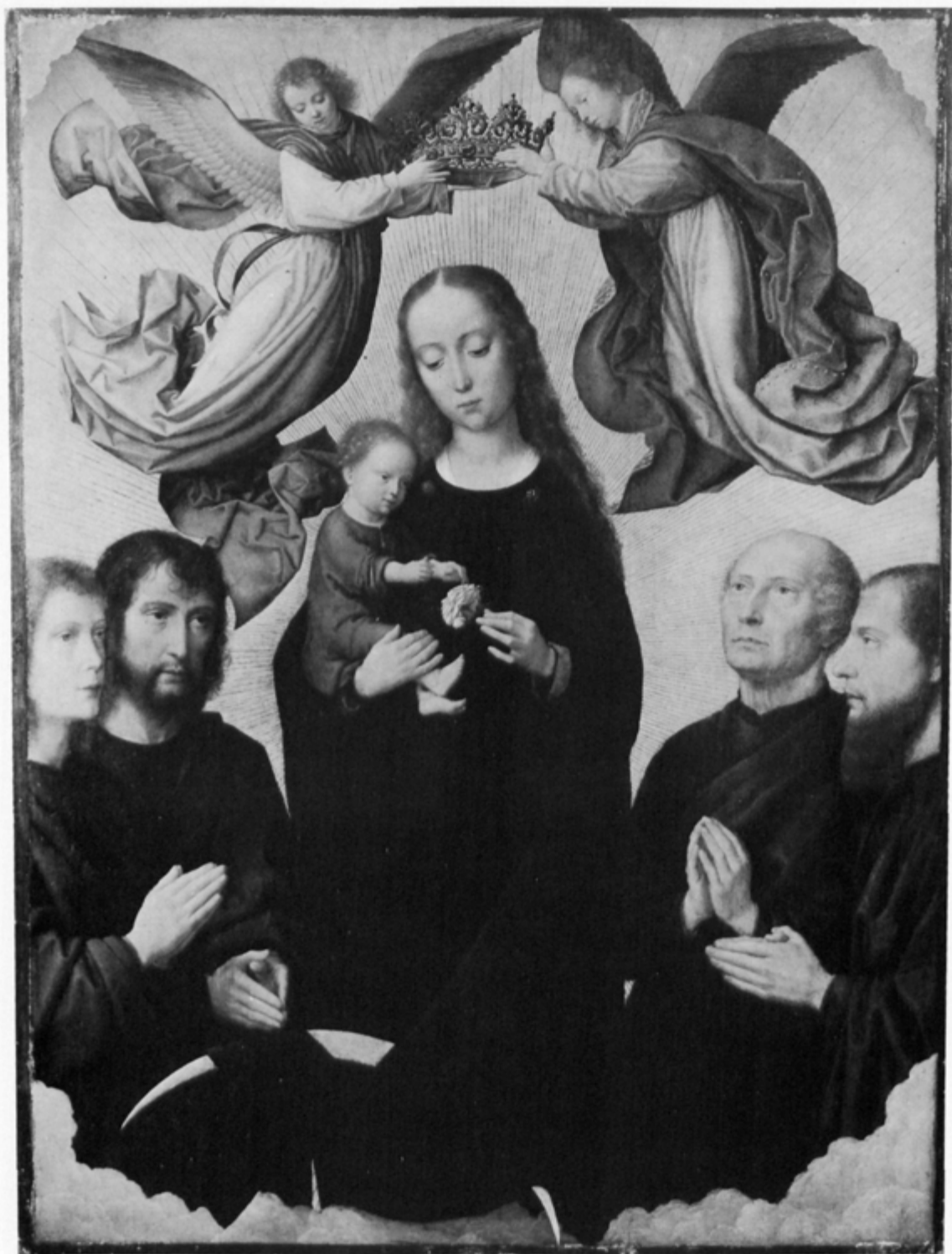
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Add. 268 | Add. 273

Add. 269 | Add. 276

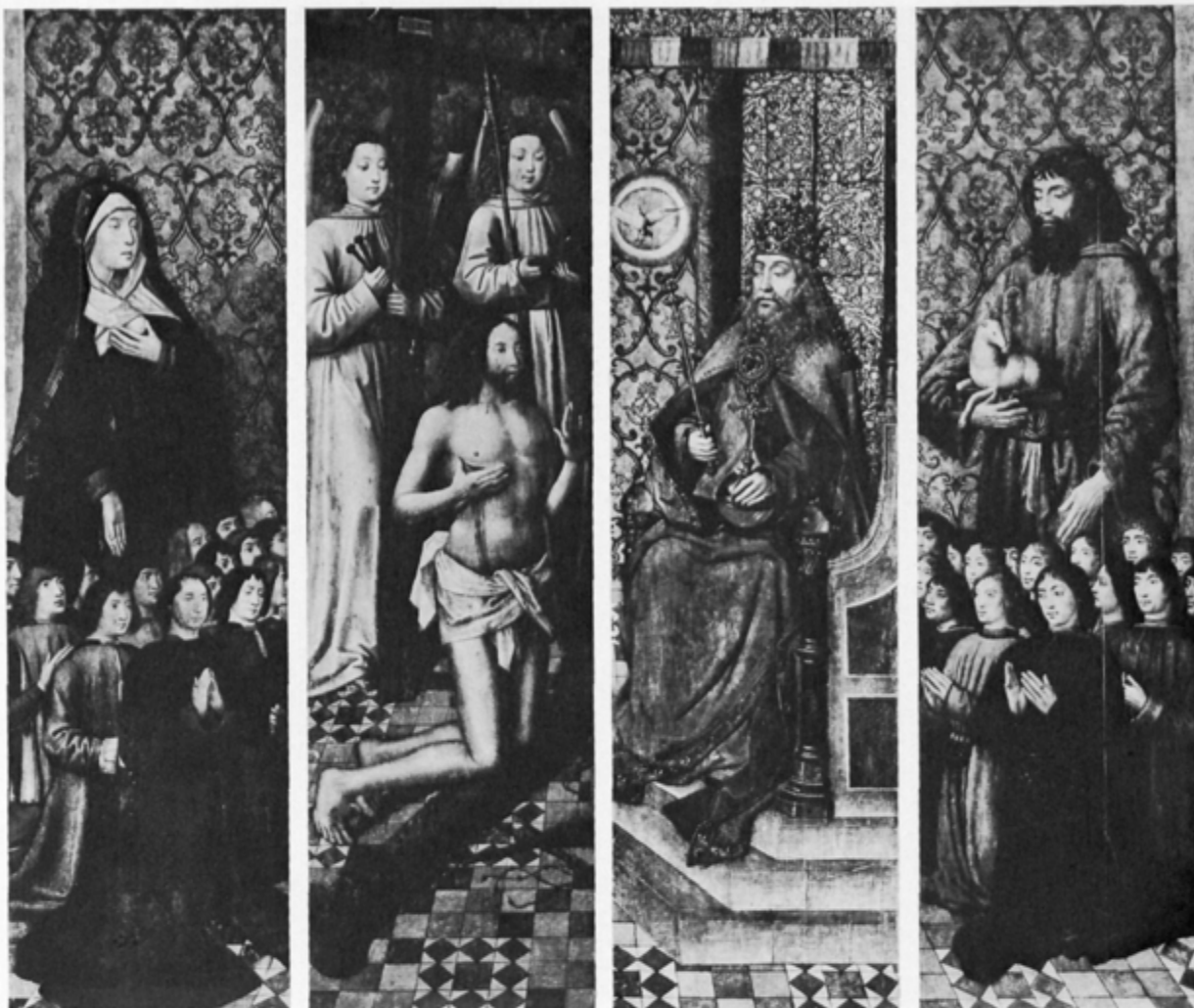
Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Add. 268. Virgin and Child. *New York*, Acquavella Gallery. Add. 273. Virgin and Child. *Luton Hoo, Beds.*, *The Wernher Collection*. Add. 269. Virgin and Child with two Angels. *Belgium*, *Private Collection*. Add. 276. Woman with a Pansy. *London*, Sold at Sotheby's, 1965



Add. 277. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. *Mary Queen of Heaven*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Foundation



Add. 278. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Polyptych of the Virgin Enthroned. Tallinn, Estonia, Museum of Fine Arts (Kadriorg)



Add. 278. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Polyptych of the Virgin Enthroned. Reverse of the Shutters and Second Shutters, Christ and Mary Interceding for the Confraternity of the Black Heads. Tallinn, Estonia, Museum of Fine Arts (Kadriorg)



Add. 278. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Polyptych
of the Virgin Enthroned. Closed, Annunciation. *Tallinn,*
Esthonia, Museum of Fine Arts (Kadriorg)



Add. 279. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin Enthroned with two Angels. Modena, Galleria Estense



Add. 286	Add. 287
Add. 285	

Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Add. 286. Virgin Enthroned with two Angels. *Amsterdam, P. de Boer Gallery, 1961.* Add. 287. Virgin Enthroned with two Angels. *Roma, Pietro Monastero Collection.* Add. 285. Virgin and Child with two Angels. *Florence, Dr. Paoletti Collection*



Add. 282 | Add. 281

Add. 282. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. *Leningrad, The Hermitage*. Add. 281. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. St. Anthony of Padua. *Amsterdam, Dr. and Mrs. H. Wetzlar Collection*



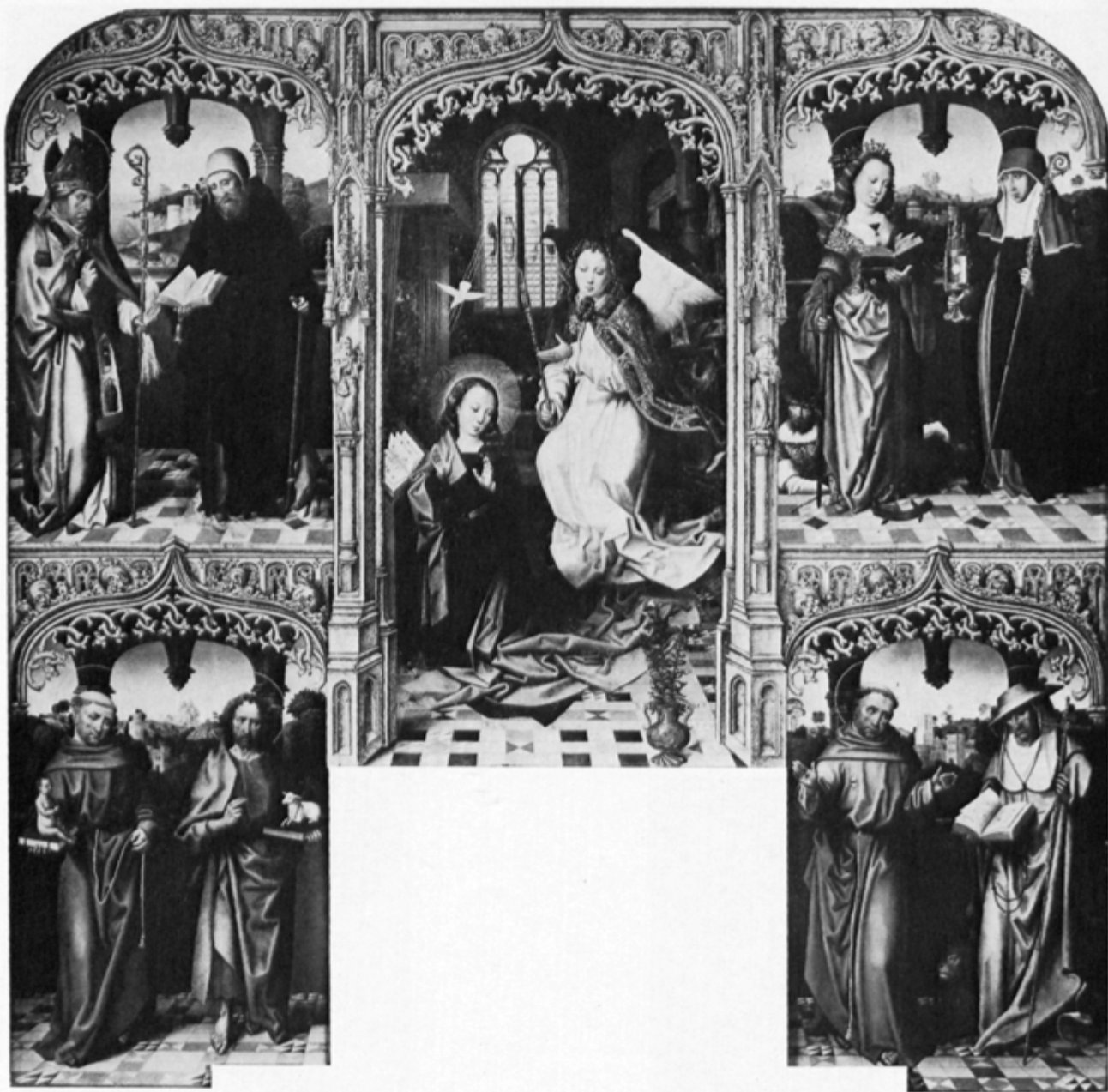
Add. 288	Add. 288
	Add. 283

Add. 288. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, workshop (?). Nativity. *Present location unknown.* Add. 288. Lamentation. *Amsterdam, Private Collection.* Add. 283. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Lamentation. *Messina, Museo Nazionale*



Add. 290	Add. 291
	Add. 289

Master of the Legend of St. Augustine. Add. 290. Portrait of a Man with a Skull. *Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum*. Add. 291. Portrait of a Man with a Black Cap. *Brussels, del Monte Collection*. Add. 289. Portrait of a Man with a Fur Cap. *Present location unknown*



Add. 292. Master of St. John the Evangelist. Altarpiece of the Annunciation. Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli



Add. 293 | Add. 294
| Add. 295

Add. 293. Master of St. John the Evangelist. Mass of St. Peter (?). *Novi Ligure, Coulant Peloso Collection*. Add. 294. Master of St. John the Evangelist. Two Shutters, Nativity and Presentation in the Temple. *Roma, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Corsini*. Add. 295. Master of the Turin Adoration. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*



Master of the Turin Adoration. Add. 296. Four Shutters. Two Panels with the Legends of Sts. Agnes and Catherine. Genoa, *Palazzo Ex-Reale*. Two Panels with the Legends of Sts. Agnes and Catherine. Strasbourg, *Musée des Beaux-Arts* (destroyed by Fire, 1947)

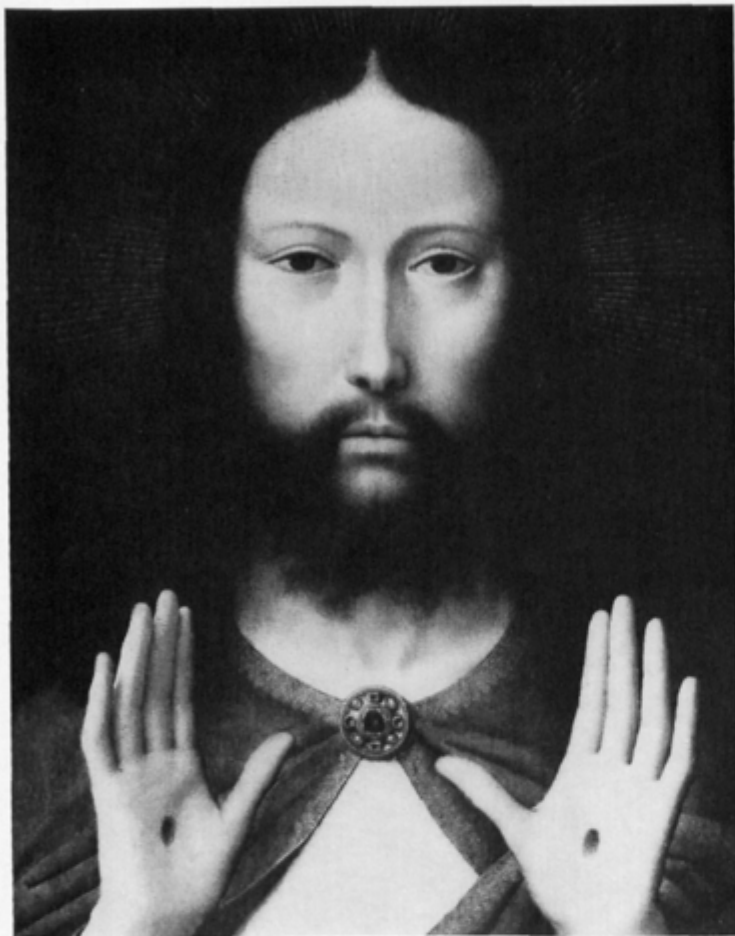


Plate
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Add. 297	Add. 298
	Add. 299

Add. 297. David. Christ Showing his Wounds. Greenville, S.C., The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings. Add. 298. David, workshop (?). Crucifixion. London, Sold at Christie's, 1968. Add. 299. David. Virgin and Child. Zurich, Private Collection



Early Netherlandish Painting

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Alt-niederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume XIV.

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